HENDERSON—NATIONAL LABOURISM INCARNATED.

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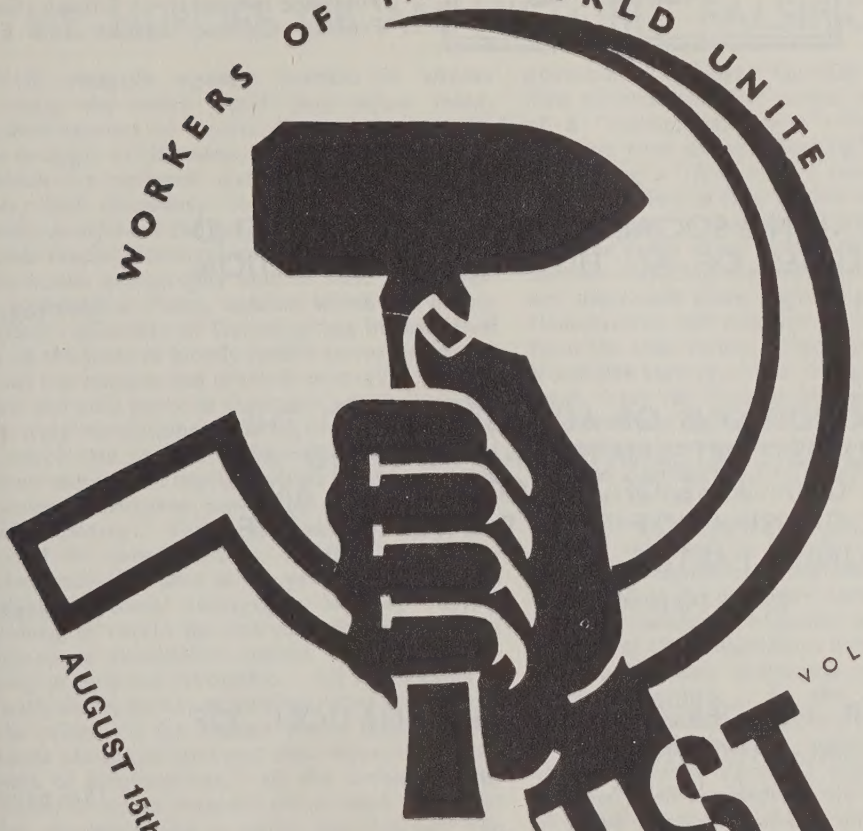

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CONCERNING SOCIAL-FASCIST SMUGGLERS AND THE HEROES OF AN HISTORIC FALSIFICATION

THE struggle against fascism is aflame along the entire world proletarian front. The development of fascist dictatorship and the class struggle in Germany, during the six months in which the national socialists have been in power, has absolutely confirmed the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the E.C.C.I. presidium, showing that fascist dictatorship is leading Germany to an economic catastrophe and to war. The German Communist Party, against which the deeply decaying capitalism of Germany has hurled itself with all the force of bloody fascist terror, to isolate it from the masses and crush it with all despatch, is now the *only* party in Germany which is pursuing a truly revolutionary struggle against fascism and which the national socialists—the party of German monopolist capital, which has a monopoly of power in Germany now—has not been able to crush or destroy. Fascist dictatorship, which has deceived the broad masses of the petty-bourgeoisie, and even part of the proletariat, with its national and social demagogy, is very rapidly beginning to reveal its true character of obedient hangman of monopolist capital against the oncoming proletarian revolution. All the dreams of the petty-bourgeoisie, of getting rid of the horrors of the crisis, all the dreams of the fascist-fooled peasants about the land and their release from the "bonds of indebtedness," all the dreams of the unemployed storm-troopers about work and high wages, are beginning to vanish into thin air. The anger of the masses grows daily. There has been no outburst as yet. Maybe the thundercloud will not even burst to-morrow. The Communist Party has yet to prepare and organise it. But the main thing is that ever-growing numbers of the toiling masses—even including those of the petty-bourgeoisie who ran with the chariot of temporarily victorious fascism—are beginning to recognise that there is no salvation in fascism, either from the iron throes of the economic crisis or from the Versailles bondage, or from hunger and unemployment, or from the enslavement of the landlords and capitalists. A sufficiently clear illustration of this are the activities of the peasantry and the fascist storm-troops in Königsberg and several parts of the German provinces, with the demand for confiscation of the lands of the landlords. Another illustration is the shooting of the storm-troops in Silesia, when they demanded fulfilment of all the promises made by Hitler before his advent to power. Lastly, we have proof in the desperate struggle of the fascist government against "harmful moods" in their own national-socialist ranks, against the slogan of a "second revolution"—in a word, in the struggle even around Goering's "high mandate" concerning a "final end of revolution."

Communism is face to face with fascism. The grave-digger of fascism is already at the gates. And the main thing is that the widest masses of toilers—including the social-democratic workers—are more and more beginning to recognise that *Communism will conquer fascism,* that salvation from the iron throes of economic crisis, from the Versailles slavery, from hunger and unemployment, from the insufferable exploitation of the landlords and capitalists, can be found only in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat led by the German Communist Party against the capitalist way out of the crisis.

In these circumstances, the task of the Communist vanguard is therefore to mobilise the growing indignation of the toiling masses who are convinced of the deceptive nature of fascist demagogic promises, *to organise and head the conversion of this indignation into open struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the power of the fascist hangmen.* As the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. laid on record, the relation of class forces in Germany in January, 1933, did not yet permit the Communist Party to take up a fight *independently,* in the face of the monstrous betrayal of social-democracy which, while leading still considerable masses of the workers, "fettered the initiative of the working masses, undermined their fighting powers in the struggle against capital and fascism, and hindered them in decisively repelling the advance of the fascist dictatorship and the terrorist fascist gangs."* The task of the German Communist Party, which is now *preparing for an independent,* decisive battle between the German toiling masses and open bourgeois dictatorship, is to explain to the toiling masses of town and village that the revolutionary workers, if only the urban and rural toilers will support them, "are alone in a position to break the resistance of the capitalists, to lead the people to a conquest of the land without compensation, to complete freedom, to a victory over hunger and war, to a fair and stable peace." (Lenin.) Therefore the German Communist Party must build up all its agitation with a view to explaining the absolute hopelessness, the complete lack of any

*C.I., No. 8. 1933

prospects of any kind of serious change (except for the worse) in their own position for the toiling masses, until the fascist government is overthrown, until the treacherous rôle of social democracy as the chief social support of the bourgoisie is revealed. The German Communist Party must build up all its agitation in order that it should "clearly point out the real enemy of the people, and definitely unmask those petty-bourgeois parties (S.R.s and Mensheviks), which have played and are playing the rôle of aiders and abettors of the executioners.†

(Lenin "On Slogans.)

Moreover:

"It is not enough to talk of the upsurge of the revolution, the path of struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the counter-revolutionaries who have seized power must be indicated."

This is the task of the German Communist Party—a task of the greatest *international* importance. Almost a year has passed since the Twelfth E.C.C.I. Plenum. The development of the class struggle in that period has completely confirmed the analysis of the Twelfth E.C.C.I. Plenum concerning the end of partial capitalist stabilisation. But, despite the enormous growth of imperialist contradictions, and the extreme intensity of class relations throughout the capitalist world, which are a consequence of the unfolding of all the factors of the end of partial capitalist stabilisation, the bourgeoisie, and its social-fascist agents of all kinds—by using the growing complexity and unequal development and, in particular, the increase of production in certain capitalist countries on the shifting sands of inflation, military situation, and the temporary victory of fascist dictatorship in Germany—are trying to launch a legend of the beginning of the end of the world economic crisis, of the working class being crushed, and the beginning of a period of reaction, which will weaken the revolutionary fighting power of the proletariat. And just as throughout the whole of the history of the Communist International, with each complication in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, in the face of every need for a tactical turn on the part of the Communist Party to correspond with the new stage of development of the international working class movement—so now all the renegade "companions" of social-fascism, and the opportunists inside the Communist parties themselves, open an infuriated attack against the Communist International for the purpose of holding back the process of growth of the revolutionary struggle. The whole meaning of the struggle of the Communist International during the whole "third period" against all kinds of opportunism, has amounted to the need for clearing the way for the *march forward, for the struggle,* for increasing the *independent* rôle of the Communist Parties in leading class battles, for preparations for a *counter-attack* and *an attack,* on the part of the working class. The meaning of the struggle of the renegades and opportunists against the Comintern has been, and remains, one of imbuing into the working class and its Communist vanguard the defeatist conviction of the invincible might and strength of the class enemy, and of its own weakness.

During the Twelfth E.C.C.I. Plenum, the Comintern unmasked this defeatist meaning of the "philosophy of the epoch" of Humbert-Droz, the right opportunist, who, on the basis of the growth of the fascist movement in Germany, came to the conclusion that the Comintern was "moving backwards" and that it was essential to "revise" the tactical line of the Communist International as regards social-democracy. The Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. also revealed the other defeatist position of Comrades Neumann, Remmelle and their supporters, who disguised their actual refusal to mobilise the masses in a bolshevik manner, and prepare for revolutionary battles, and fight against social-democracy behind "revolutionary" phraseology about "Beat the fascists wherever you meet them," about the organic "change of systems" (which was bringing grist to the mill of social-fascism), or the tactic of ignoring the united front, and the strike struggle of the proletariat.

Now, a year after the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., when class relations are extremely strained throughout the whole of the capitalist world, international social-democracy, headed by crowds of its own renegades and opportunist-satellites, is fulfilling its rôle as the main social support of the bourgeoisie, first and foremost by making a furious attack on international bolshevism, and declaring it to be the culprit, or at any rate one of the culprits (together with German social-democracy) responsible for "smashing the German proletariat," responsible for the "period of reaction which has arrived," and also by spreading the legend of the "crushing" of the German Communist Party, and the new era of German social-democracy, which is "passing through a revival towards revolutionary class struggle." The leaders of social-democracy, in putting through this manœuvre to deceive and retain their hold on the social democratic workers (*who are now going over in masses* to the German Communist Party, which is fighting heroically against fascism) at times attain truly poetical

†Reprinted in "Preparing for October."

heights, and produce masterpieces of "radical" verbosity, intended to depict the "revolutionary enthusiasm" of the social-fascists, while frequently making confessions of no small interest. For example, Fedor Dan, the white emigrant Menshevik, wrote the following in the "Socialist Herald" ("Sotsialisticheskyi Vestnik"):

"We have loved our enemies long enough,
"We want to hate them!"

Dan's love for the bourgeoisie is a past and present love of which nothing, of course, is new to us. Now, in the interests of deceiving the masses in the best possible way, and of creating an appearance of a true change of tactics and a denial of "loving our enemies," the old social-fascist theory of the "peaceful development of capitalism into socialism," the "democratic road to socialism," etc., is dished up under a new label, an ostensibly altered formula—"to democracy through socialism, through a workers' government"—which actually, in the social-fascist conception, is the other side of the same social-fascist medal.

In making actual revolutionary preparations for decisive struggles for a real workers' government and for proletarian dictatorship, and in defending the working masses in their daily struggle from the blows of fascist dictatorship, the German Communist Party is actually realising the united front of the proletariat under its own leadership, and is thus creating the most important factor for mustering around the German proletariat those masses of the petty bourgeoisie who will be their allies in the revolution. The fact that the German Communist Party is more and more restoring its links with the villages, in the face of the exceedingly difficult objective situation for revolutionary work in rural districts, and the fact that the toiling masses in the villages are beginning to speak openly of their disappointment as regards fascism, is an expression, not only of the fact of the petty-bourgeois allies of proletarian revolution coming together around the proletariat, but first and foremost and chiefly of the fact that the positions of the proletariat itself, and of its Communist vanguard are strengthening. And the fact that the German Communist Party, unlike the example set by social-democracy, has been able to pass through the storm of fascist terror a single, solid detachment of the proletarian vanguard, without any mass exits from the party, without any party internal discussion, without any crises in its own ranks, is a sign of *deep roots* of bolshevik revolutionary work among the German proletariat, a sign of the German Party's bolshevik maturity, of the invincibility of German bolshevism and the inevitability of its victory over fascism and social-democracy.

It is just this new alignment of class forces in Germany which dictates that the German Communist Party should determinedly unmask and relentlessly eradicate all and every kind of social-fascist contraband, which the right and "left" opportunism which yet remains (and disguises itself in the party, under cover of recognition of Party resolutions) is trying to make use of in the party ranks now, in order to conceal their panic, their liquidatory attitude, their desertion, thus reflecting the indubitable pressure brought to bear by the manoeuvres of German social-democracy. Thus, whereas Trotsky, the malicious counter-revolutionary renegade, and Brandler, his sham counter-revolutionary "antipodes," openly formulate this pressure brought to bear by German and international social-fascism in their demand for the creation of a "new Communist Party," in their "profound" statement concerning the "defeat of the Chinese revolution, the crushing of the German proletariat, and the serious weakening of the U.S.S.R." (and all this is borrowed entirely from their common teacher, Karl Kautsky), on the other hand, the social-fascist smugglers inside the party itself, are doing just the same, under cover of "loyal" quotations from resolutions of the Comintern and from Marx and Lenin.

What, if not social-democratic contraband, is the assertion of the "arch-left" comrade Hertzen, which was revealed at the last Plenum of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, to the effect that now "a new system is fully flourishing, and can it even now be said that the fascist system of rule is nothing but a system of democratic rule?" At a time when a violent struggle is going on between two systems—the world of capitalism and the world of socialism, at a time when the proletariat, led by the Communist vanguard, is carrying on the most strenuous work in preparation for determined battles against bourgeois dictatorship in all its forms (against one system) on behalf of proletarian dictatorship (for the other system), Comrade Hertzen reiterates the social-democratic legend about the "change of the system" now that fascism has come to power, which actually helps both fascism and social-democracy. Did not the German national-socialists hail the advent of the fascists to power as the creation of a "Third Empire," as a "change of system"? Is it not true that the central slogan of social-democracy to-day is the "Second Republic," "back to the Weimar system," "back to the system of democracy"—a slogan levelled against the struggle of the Communist Party for *the real liquidation of the system of capitalist rule*, for proletarian dictatorship? Did not Marx and Engels, in the "Communist Manifesto," write that State power is the Execu-

tive Committee of the capitalist class, and does not the programme of the Communist International give a concise, Marxist-Leninist definition of the "fascist system"?

"The principal aim of fascism is to destroy the revolutionary labour vanguard, i.e., the Communist sections and leading units of the proletariat . . . In periods of acute crisis for the bourgeoisie, fascism resorts to anti-capitalist phraseology, but, after it has established itself at the helm of State, it casts aside its anti-capitalist rattle and discloses itself as a terrorist dictatorship of big capital."

(Programme of Communist International.)

Then does not this theory of the "change of system" amount to recognition and an actual reiteration of the social-democratic theory of the "new epoch of fascism," the "epoch of reaction"? Is it not true that it puts aside in a *distinct historic drawer* the revolutionary overthrow of fascist dictatorship by the German proletariat?

What else but social-democratic contraband is the statement of Comrade Hertzen, revealed at the Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany that "the difference of the rôle of the Lumpen proletariat of previous economic crises, as for example, under Buonapartism, as Marx had written clearly, from its rôle in the present epoch of fascism consists in this, that to-day . . . in Germany the entire bourgeoisie . . . . subordinates itself to the Lumpen proletariat." Does this not stand in direct contradiction to the whole basis of Marxism-Leninism and the main Thesis of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the end of partial capitalist stabilisation? The fascist "Gleichschaltung,"* which the national-social government is carrying through with consistent ruthlessness, preparing a furious onslaught, with the aid of a centralised apparatus, upon the living standards of the toiling mass, the open dictatorship of Thyssen's and Krupp's, feverishly reconstructing the national-socialist organisation in the interests of openly serving the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie—all this to the "left" Comrade Hertzen, is nothing but the masked "subordination" of the entire bourgeoisie to the Lumpen proletariat. What a brilliant revolutionary prospect for the proletarian struggle against fascism! Hitler and Göering, Thyssen and Schacht, the Crown Prince and Hindenburg "subordinate" themselves to the Lumpen proletariat. Who but the national-socialists, who but the social-democrats will profit by this opportunist fog? The statement that by "Lumpen proletariat" it is necessary to understand "a part of the petty bourgeoisie" will not help Comrade Hertzen, a statement which is anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, which actually approximates to the theories of Trotsky and Thalheimer that fascism is the dictatorship of the petty bourgeoisie.

And so, first from one, and then from another flank of the mighty front of struggle of the German proletariat and the whole international working class against fascism, we find isolated figures, who have lost their heads, backsliding and deserting, with the brand of opportunism on their brows, from their positions as bolshevik fighters, who try to hide their flight with cries in the rear about "treason at the front." It was of them that Lenin said "those who are fettered with the routine of capitalism and deafened by the mighty crash of the old, the din and clatter and 'chaos' (seeming chaos) of the crumbling and falling age-long structures of Tsarism and the bourgeoisie, cannot understand historic prospectives." (Lenin: "Terrified by the crash of the old, and fighting for the new.") It is they who are probably trying to discuss, in the face of the offensive of the enemy on the front. It is they who are seated in the background poring over profound dissertations on the harmfulness of tobacco to fascism, and who insinuate, lie and bear false witness against the Communist Party, who *interpret* the meaning of "change of system," by means of all kinds of historic falsifications and excuses and objective, scientific and historical parallels, as a "period of reaction," which, incidentally, should not be startling, for "on the heels of Louis Buonaparte's Eighteenth Brumaire, there came the Paris Commune, and after the defeat of revolution in 1905, there came 1917." And this, of course, they call a revolutionary perpective! It is characteristic that these "revolutionary" historical parallels constitute the favourite occupation of the "Neue Vorwaerts," the emigrant social-democratic organ. Incidentally, it carefully omits all those parts of Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire" which constitute a mighty blow at all the "heroes of law and order." From Bauer to Kautsky, from Thalheimer to Trotsky, who conceal their treacherous work by high-sounding phrases of "scientific theorising" to the very smallest figures of the camp of opportunism like Dr. Kemper, with his party card in his pocket (and others)—there is a whole conveyer system of *social-fascist contraband* about "victorious Buonapartism," about the "epoch of reaction," about the "Communist Party's mistakes," about the "united front in the village brought about by the fascists, led by the junkers.

The "philosophy of history" of Dr. Kemper and others amounts to a simple repetition of the old refrains of Otto Bauer, the social-fascist, that fascism (that is, Buonapartism) is an uprising of

*See No. 10 C.I.

the petty-bourgeoisie, and primarily the peasantry as a whole, against the bourgeois republic. "With their nationalist phrases and demagogic promises, the fascists managed to seize upon the anti-capitalist (?) moods of the peasant masses, and their hatred to the Versailles system and the Weimar Republic"—such is Dr. Kemper's thesis. "The essence of fascism is that different classes for quite opposite reasons dream of dictatorship. Some hate the republic, because it is a republic, others hate it because it is a bourgeois republic." This is Dr. Bauer's thesis. Doctors with kindred souls are to be found in the nebula of social-fascist contraband. And so we have a whole chain from the "arch-left" theory of Hertzen of the "change of system" to the deeply pessimistic and profoundly defeatist theory of Dr. Kemper of a "united reactionary mass" in the village and to the open anti-Soviet, counter-revolutionary theories of the social-fascist, Otto Bauer, which make proletarian dictatorship identical with fascist dictatorship.

But even this is not all. Dr. Kemper's criticism hangs on three big whales. The second and third amount to a broad analysis of the "mistakes" of the Communist Party and the assertions on "lesser affairs," which, apparently, are alone able to smash German fascism in our epoch of reaction. The task, they declare, is to concentrate *all* the attention and *all the* revolutionary forces of the Communist vanguard to-day only on daily and hourly showing the masses that the fascists are deceiving them. The opportunists do not even suspect (how can one suspect "in the epoch of reaction"?) that the German Communist Party has made its *immediate* strategic task, the organisation of a revolutionary overthrow of fascist dictatorship by heading the daily economic and political struggle of the proletariat; and that only in this sense can, and should, the question of a systematic and persistent unmasking of the deceptive promises of the fascists be raised by Communists.

> "It is essential to seize upon the disappointment felt in their great expectations. We must try to the utmost to convert the disappointment into revolutionary activity."

Thus runs the bolshevik circular of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party concerning work in the village. And further:

> "In the centre of our propaganda we must put forward the revolutionary way out, our final aims, especially emphasising the immediate programme which would be carried out by a workers' and peasants' government."

And it is quite certain that these modernised Brandlerites have no suspicion that Lenin for long decades relentlessly and with unsurpassed force unmasked all their forerunners in the form of the economists, liquidators, reformists and other opportunists. It was of them and of their co-thinkers that Lenin said:

"The philistine is satisfied with the indisputable, sacred and *empty* truth that it cannot be known beforehand whether there will be a revolution or not. A Marxist is not satisfied with this. He says: Our propaganda and the propaganda of all the social-democratic workers is one of the things which define whether there will be a revolution or not . . . Whether there will or will not be a revolution depends not only on us. But we will do *our* work, and the work will never be in vain."

"Those who preach their own vulgar, intellectual, Bundist-Trotskist scepticism to the *masses*: It is not known whether there will be a revolution or not, but 'reforms' are on the 'order of the day'—they are *even now* demoralising the masses and preaching liberal utopias to the masses." (Lenin: "The Platform of the Reformists and the Platform of the Revolutionary Social-Democrats.")

The Neo-Brandlerites are now preaching liberal utopias to the toiling masses of Germany, thus disarming the working class in its revolutionary struggle against fascism. It is high time that the German Communist Party *called Dr. Kemper and all others to order,* no matter under what flag, Right or "Left," they preach. The nearer the approach of revolutionary battles of the proletariat with the bourgeois dictatorship, the more serious the situation in which the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat and its Communist vanguard takes place, the heavier must the bolshevik fire be trained on opportunism. *This always was, is and remains the main law of development of bolshevism on the road to victory of the proletarian revolution.*

THE CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION INTO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ADOPTED AT THE II. CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN AND THE CLEANSING OF THE RANKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

By O. Piatnitsky.

The Communist Parties of those countries where the Communist activity is legal should make periodical cleansings (re-registrations) of the members of the Party organisations, so as to systematically cleanse the Party from the petty-bourgeois elements who inevitably attach themselves to it. (Point 13 of the Conditions of Acceptance into the Comintern.)

BEFORE the war, the social-democratic parties and reformist trade unions comprised the Second International. In the developed capitalist countries, both the social-democratic parties and the reformist trade unions were mass organisations, with millions of members. Since they were parties formed of a bloc of proletarian and petty-bourgeois interests which gratified the petty-bourgeois social-nationalists and the social-chauvinists, the Second International, in adapting itself to the moods of the revolutionary workers, found itself compelled to pass resolutions against war at its international congresses (Stuttgart, Basle).

In these resolutions it stated that it would be a crime on the part of the workers to participate in the bourgeois war which was in preparation, and gave warning that this war would lead to a proletarian revolution. In some countries, the social-democratic parties before the war carried on quite an intensive verbal campaign against war, publishing articles on the subject, calling mass meetings, appealing for peace, and against war; while just before the war itself they organised protest meetings and demonstrations. The workers believed that the social-democratic parties and the trade unions really intended to struggle against war, and would carry it on. But when the war broke out, all the social-democratic parties, and trade unions went over to the side of their imperialisms openly, helping to drive the workers and peasants to the front, to increase the exploitation of the toilers and mercilessly crush the slightest manifestation of the class struggle of the proletariat. Such open treachery, on the part of the parties of the Second International, could not but rouse indignation, not merely among the great working masses, but also the lower activists of the parties and trade unions.

The February revolution in Russia, the organisation of Soviets of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers' Deputies, the rise of soldiers' committees at the rear and the front, the widest and most fearless agitation against imperialist war carried on by the Bolsheviks, the fraternising which they organised at the fronts, plainly showed the toilers of the whole world how it was possible and necessary to struggle against their bourgeoisie, even in war-time. The slogan of the Bolsheviks, on the conversion of imperialist war into civil war, met with a wide response throughout the world.

The October Revolution, which overthrew the power of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, and showed the revolutionary way out of imperialist war in practice, produced a stupendous impression on the masses of workers and soldiers. These masses not only began to see the deception of the bourgeoisie and the social-democratic parties more clearly, but they also saw the actual possibility of struggling against them, and the bourgeois State, as a whole.

The imperialist peace showed to the masses that all the promises of the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats during the imperialist war were false and hypocritical. The bourgeoisie and their agents, the social-democrats, had promised that the war would bring an improvement in the situation of the workers and peasants; social insurance; even the abolition of exploitation; equal rights to oppressed peoples, etc. that "the country would never forget its heroes." In reality, after the horrors of the front, the workers and peasants were awaited by exploitation and oppression at the rear, poverty and degradation and a bandit peace as a continuation of the bandit war. The bourgeoisie of all countries threw themselves against the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia, and began armed intervention against the U.S.S.R.

All this heightened the revolutionary activity of the working masses in general, especially the workers in the social-democratic parties and the reformist trade unions. The demand for organisation immediately after the war evoked an unprecedented flow of workers into the trade unions. (Before the war the German trade unions had 2,250,000 members, immediately after the war 8,000,000; in Great Britain the number of trade union members increased from 4,500,000 to 6,500,000; in France from 400,000 to 2,000,000; in Italy from 400,000 to 2,000,000; in America from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000). The workers demanded that the trade unions organise a struggle to redeem the bourgeois promises, given during the war. The members of the social-democratic parties demanded that their party leaders

immediately split from the Second International, which had betrayed the working class in such a criminal manner. Under the pressure of the workers, social-democracy was compelled to avoid interfering with the workers when they organised the struggle against anti-Soviet intervention, particularly against the sending of munitions to Poland which had attacked the Soviet Union. The social-democratic workers demanded that their parties join the Third International, the initiative in the formation of which had been taken by the Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union, led by Lenin.

Under this pressure of the workers, and with the object of avoiding complete isolation from the masses, one social-democratic party after another adopted a decision to leave the Second International. As the result of a unanimous decision of its Congress, the Swiss Social-Democratic Party left the Second International. The Congress of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany also made a decision to withdraw from membership. At the end of January, 1920, at the Strassburg Congress, the French Socialist Party broke with the Second International (4,200 for leaving, against only 337 votes). The Norwegian Social-Democratic Labour Party, the American S.L.P., the Bulgarian S.D.P. ("Tesniaki"), the Italian Socialist Party, the International of Youth, the British I.L.P., all deserted the decaying Second International. Even the Russian social-democrats, the Mensheviks, on March 10th, 1920, resolved to leave the sinking ship of the Second International, although, as is well known, they had supported the bourgeoisie in carrying on the imperialist war, collaborated with them in the Provisional Government, tried to save them from proletarian revolution, at first disorganising the forces of the working class, and then, during the October days, trying to drown the armed insurrection of the workers in blood, and finally, after the victory of the revolution, organising sabotage and counter-revolutionary attacks on the Soviet power and participating in imperialist intervention and armed attacks on the Soviet Union. Even these contemptible lackeys of foreign imperialism, who had fallen so low that it would seem they had nothing more to lose, preferred to abandon the decaying Second International, at any rate, in words.

THE STRIVINGS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS TOWARDS THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

At the first Congress, when the Third Communist International was founded in March, 1919, only a small number of representatives of the revolutionary workers' organisations of capitalist countries were present, owing to armed intervention and the blockade of the Soviet Union, And the very parties which took part in the Congress, with the exception, of course, of the Communist Party of Russia, were still very small, and had only just been formed. At this first Congress, the following took part: C.P. Russia, C.P. Germany, C.P. German-Austria, Hungary, the Swedish left S.D. Party, the Norwegian S.D. Party, the opposition Swiss S.D. Party, the American S.L.P., the Bulgarian "Tesniaki," the C.P.s of Poland, Finland, Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, White Russia, Esthonia, Armenia and the Communists of what is now the German Volga Republic.

In the interval between the first and second Congress, the Communist International was joined by the Italian Socialist Party, the Swedish League of Youth, the C.P. of East Galicia, the Socialist Party of Alsace-Lorraine, the Ukrainian Federation of Socialist Parties and a number of Finnish organisations in America, the British Socialist Party, the Bavarian Independent Party, part of the Danish Social-Democrats, the Communist organisations of Bohemia, Lorraine and Mexico, the International Congress of working youth at which there were delegates from 220,000 members, the Scottish Labour Party. The Congress of the Swedish S.D. Party adopted a decision to join the Communist International. A large number of local organisations of the French Socialist Party decided to enter the Communist International. At the Strassburg Congress of the Socialist Party of France, a resolution to join the Communist International obtained 1,621 votes out of 4,667.

The following confirmed their adhesion to the Third International: the Congress of the Italian Socialist Party in Bologna, the Congress of the Norwegian Socialist Labour Party, the Conference of the Left Swedish S.D. Party, the Congress of the Bulgarian S.D. Party—"Tesniaki," the Polish Communist Party, the Congress of Socialists of the U.S.A. At the Congress of the Spanish Socialist Party, 12,500 votes were cast for joining the Communist International (against 14,000 for remaining in the Second International). At the Scandinavian Workers' Congress in December, 1919, at which there were 268 delegates from 300,000 workers, the Communist resolutions were adopted unanimously.

In the Austrian Social-Democratic Party there was also formed a working association of revolutionary social-democrats of Austria, which struggled in the committees for the Soviet dictatorship and adhesion to the Third International. They sent greetings to the Second Congress of the Comintern. Even at the Conference of the Labour Party of Great Britain the question of joining the Third International was raised, and referred to the local organisations of the Labour Party for discussion.

At the Second Congress, in addition to Communist Parties which had decisive voting rights, there were syndicalist and revolutionary organisations, I.W.W. organisations from various countries, the Spanish

National Federation of Labour, the British Shop Stewards who had not previously belonged to any political party, the Communist oppositions in the Social-Democratic Parties and Socialist Parties, which joined the Third International before the Second Congress.

At the Second Congress, the representatives of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany and the Socialist Party of France were admitted with a consultative voice, in view of the fact that both parties had decided to negotiate with the Third International, with a view to joining it.

Statements of the wish to join the Communist International not only came from revolutionary organisations, but from parties which remained under the leadership of reformists and centrists, who were prepared to "turn their coat" under the pressure of the masses with the object of deceiving them. In the resolution on the fundamental tasks of the Communist Parties, adopted at the Second Congress we read :

"One mistake, very serious and presenting great direct danger for the success of the cause of the liberation of the proletariat, consists in the fact that part of the old leaders and old parties of the Second International, partly unconsciously yielding to the wishes and pressure of the masses, partly consciously deceiving them in order to preserve their former rôle of agents and supporters of the bourgeoisie inside the Labour Movement, are declaring their conditional or unconditional affiliation to the Third International, while remaining in reality in the whole practice of their party and political work on the level of the Second International. Such a state of things is absolutely inadmissible, because it demoralises the masses, hinders the development of a strong Communist Party, and lowers their respect for the Third International by threatening repetition of such betrayals as that of the Hungarian Social-Democrats who had rapidly assumed the disguise of Communists" (Par 1, II Section).

This is why the Second Congress paid such great attention to the question of the acceptance of new parties into the Communist International.

As mentioned above, the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany and the French Socialist Party were present at the Second Congress with a consultative voice. The debates on the conditions of admission into the Communist International turned chiefly around the question of accepting these two parties, though later it turned out that the conditions which the Comintern presented to parties wishing to join it were not acceptable to the leaders of parties which had joined the Communist International even before the Second Congress : to the Socialist Party of Italy, the Labour Party of Norway, etc.

The Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany from November 19th, 1918, participated in the Government, together with the right Social-Democrats Ebert, Scheidemann and Lansberg. Together with the latter the Independents refused the cargoes of grain which the workers of the Soviet Union were sending to support the German revolution. Together with the right social-democrats, they took the line of conciliation to the Entente and America. (calculating on Wilson), did not restore diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, and confirmed the expulsion of the Soviet Ambassador who had been compelled to leave Germany under the régime of Wilhelm. Together with the right Socialists, and with the aim of beheading and betraying the revolution, they decided to call a Constituent Assembly, simultaneously nullifying the workers' and soldiers' Soviets. The leaders of the Independents were for collaboration with the bourgeoisie, against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the Soviet system, for the bourgeois republic. But the Independent Social-Democratic Party was a mass party. Under the pressure of its members and local organisations, which, together with the Communists, had taken part in the revolutionary struggle for Soviet Germany and in practice had demonstrated their readiness to make sacrifices in this struggle, the right leaders of the Independents (Crispien, Dittman, Hilferding, Kautsky, Breitscheid) were compelled to enter into negotiations with the Communist International.

The same may be said of the leaders of the Socalist Party of France. The majority of the leaders occupied their old position of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and only opened negotiations with the Third International, under the pressure of the masses of members.

Frossard was present at the Second Congress, and voted after the Second Congress for the conditions of acceptance formulated by it. Not long before the Congress he wrote in a leading article in "Humanité" on February 13th, 1920 :

> "As for the policy of our Party, it is obvious that it remains the same as before" . . . "Elections take place. If circumstances arise, the Third International does not in any way hinder the formation of a bloc, sometimes even during the first round of the elections."

This proves that they either did not understand, or did not want to understand, that membership of the Communist International made it compulsory for them to change their previous reformist policy and tactics in reality.

For this very reason, not only in the twenty-one conditions, but in the resolution on the basic tasks of the Comintern, the Second Congress clearly and sharply exposed the treacherous manœuvres of those parties which only adopted the basic principles of the Comintern in words.

"The whole activity of these parties" says the resolution (referring to the French Socialist Party, the Independent Social-Democratic Party and the Swiss Socialist Party), "proves—and any given periodical paper of these parties confirms it—that they are not Communists as yet and frequently even are in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of the Third International, namely, the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet power instead of bourgeois democracy. Therefore the Second Congress of the Communist International should announce that it does not consider it possible to receive these parties immediately, that it confirms the answer of the Executive Committee of the Third International to the German 'Independents'; that it confirms its readiness to carry on negotiations with any party leaving the Second International and desiring to join the Third; that it reserves the right of a consultative voice to the delegate of such parties at all its congresses and conferences; and that it proposes the following conditions for the complete union of these and similar parties with the Communist International: (1) the publication of all the resolutions passed by all congresses of the Communist International and by the Executive Committee in all the periodical publications of the Party; (2) their discussion at the special meetings of all sections and local organisations of the Party; (3) the convocation after such discussion of a special congress of the Party for the weeding out of all elements which continue to act in the spirit of the Second International. Such a congress to be called together as soon as possible within a period of four months at most following the Second Congress; (4) expulsion from the Party of all members who persist in their adherence to the Second International; (5) the transfer of all periodical papers of the Party into the hands of exclusively Communist editors; (6) the parties wishing to join the Third International but which have not yet radically changed their old tactics must, above all, take care that two-thirds of their central committee and the chief central institutions consist of such comrades who have declared their adherence to a party of the Third International even before the Second Congress." (Resolution on the basic tasks of the Communist International, Section 3, par. 13.)

These conditions, which were put forward by the Second Congress in addition to the twenty-one conditions of acceptance into the Communist International at once showed which of the leaders of the Second International who had joined, or wished to join, the Third International had really abandoned the programme and tactics of the Second International. The fact that such a sharp formulation of the question was really necessary with the aim of discovering hidden reformists and centrists, is shown by the conduct of the leaders of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party. *After the First Congress* of the Comintern, the Congress of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party (August, 1919) decided, by an overwhelming majority, to join the Third International, but the leaders "organised" a referendum among the members in such a way that there were 15,000 votes against joining the Third International and only 8,000 votes for, although in all the Social-Democratic Parties, the mass of members was more revolutionary than the delegates elected to the Congress, and consequently a correctly conducted referendum should have shown a higher percentage of votes for joining the Third International than even the Congress voting. This indicates the swindling the leaders of the Social Democratic Party sunk to, to hinder the efforts of the rank and file members to join the Third International.

There is no need to speak of the importance of the periodic press passing into the hands of Communists, as mentioned in point 5. Take, for example, "Humanité," the central organ of the French Socialist Party at that time. At the head of the Party were supporters of the "centre" (Comrade Cachin and Frossard). At the head of the left wing of the Party was Loriot, at the head of the Rights Renaudel. The leading articles for "Humanité" were distributed among these three trends as follows: Centre 8, Lefts 4, and Rights 3 articles per week. Thus, every week the readers received a proportional number of articles of the three tendencies, which contradicted and frequently opposed each other, in a manner far from open discussion, and as the result there was much confusion.

THE TWENTY-ONE CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION INTO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Among the draft theses published before the Second Congress was a project of nineteen conditions of admission to the Communist International (as we know, the decision of the Congress has twenty-one conditions). In the first condition, the Communist Parties and those who wish to join the Communist International are required to carry on really daily Communist agitation in the spirit of the programme and decisions of the Third International. The organs of the press "should be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current hackneyed formula, it should be advocated in such a way that its necessity should be apparent to every rank and file working man and woman, to each soldier and peasant, and should emanate from everyday facts systematically recorded by our press from day to day."

In view of the fact that the periodical press and the Party publications, in the Social-Democratic Parties, were usually in the hands of professional journalists and parliamentary politicians, and not subordinated to the Central Committee, the first point in the conditions makes it obligatory on the parties wishing to join the Communist International to take the periodic press and the Party publications firmly into their hands. The first point of the conditions requires the Parties wishing to join the Communist International to "systematically and mercilessly denounce in the press, at meetings, in trade unions and co-operatives, not only the bourgeoisie, but its assistants, the reformists of *every colour and shade*." (My italics.)

In the second point of the conditions of admission it is made obligatory upon all parties wishing to join the Second International to "systematically and regularly *remove* from all responsible posts in the Labour Movement (the Party organisation, editorial board, trade unions, parliamentary fraction, co-operative society, municipalities, etc.) all reformists and *followers of the* ' *Centre*' (my italics) and to have them replaced by Communists, even at the cost of replacing. at the beginning, 'experienced' men by rank and file working men."

As the Social-Democratic Parties in the bourgeois countries, even when in opposition to the Government, do not break from coalition with the bourgeoisie and avoid revolutionary methods of struggle, they value their bourgeois legality very highly. We know that during the war, under the false pretence that it was impermissible to sacrifice the legality of their existence, they did not decline even the dirtiest and bloodiest forms of serving the imperialist State. Therefore the great importance of the third condition of acceptance is plain, namely, the duty for legal parties to form a parallel illegal apparatus for better organising the struggle and for illegal parties to combine legal and illegal possibilities of struggle.

The Social-Democratic Parties of the Second International, in conformity with their general attitude to the bourgeois state, excluded the work among the soldiers from their practice, both before and still more, during the war. On the contrary, the fourth condition specially emphasises the duty of carrying on systematic work among the soldiers, and where such work cannot be carried on in a legal manner, it must be done illegally. "The abandonment of such work would be equivalent to the betrayal of revolutionary duty and would be incompatible with membership of the Third International." Lenin stated in his speech on the question of the Communist Party joining the British Labour Party :

> "We see in Ireland 200,000 English soldiers oppressing the Irish by means of the worst imaginable terror. No revolutionary propaganda is being carried on among these soldiers by the English Socialists. But we clearly state in our resolutions that only those English parties can be admitted into the Third International which will carry on great revolutionary propaganda among the British soldiers and workers." (Minutes of the Second Congress, session on August 6th, page 412.)

The majority of the Social-Democratic Parties of the Second International did not work among the peasants, and the fifth condition of joining the Communist International makes work in the villages a duty of the Party.

> "Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a predominant importance during the present period. It should be carried on through Communist *workmen*, of both city and country, who have connections with the rural districts. To refuse to do this work or to transfer such work to untrustworthy half-reformists, is equal to renouncing the proletarian revolution."

The sixth condition of acceptance into the Communist International obliges the Party to expose not only social-patriotism, but also hypocritical social-pacifism to "systematically demonstrate to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international arbitration courts, no talk of disarmament, no ' democratic ' reorganisation of the League of Nations will save mankind from new imperialist wars." This is all the more necessary, because not only the bourgeoisie but the social-democrats, both the rights and the centre, preached among the working class that this war was the last war, that the League of Nations (which contained the imperialists) was capable of abolishing war and peacefully "solving" all the conflicts which arose, etc. From the very beginning of the League of Nations, the Communist International warned the workers that the League of Nations, which was under the power of the strongest imperialist robbers, who enslave countries and colonies, did not want to and could not abolish war, but, on the contrary, was the organiser and instrument of imperialist wars and counter-revolutionary intervention. Need it be added, that the entire history of the League of Nations, particularly its rôle in the bandit attack of Japan on China, in the preparations for the partition of China, the vicious intrigues against the U.S.S.R., has completely confirmed this forecast. Even in 1920 the Communist International pointed out that, behind the cackle about the reduction of armaments was concealed the preparation of the imperialists for a new war. The Disarmament Conference, at present rotting away, plainly shows the masses that the imperialists cannot and do not want to reduce their armaments, that, on the contrary, during the last few years, they have increased their armaments

to a tremendous extent, while the antagonisms between the imperialists have become so intense that the economic war which is already being carried on throughout the world, the actual closing of borders to the import of commodities from other countries, currency warfare, etc., may unexpectedly change into military conflicts between the imperialists and still more into attacks on the Soviet Union.

The seventh condition compels the Parties not only to split completely with reformism, and the policy of the "centre," and propaganda of this split among the broad circles of Party members, but "unconditionally and peremptorily requires that this split be brought about *with least possible delay*. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to the fact that such avowed reformists as, for instance, Turatti, Kautsky, Hilferding, Hilquit, Longuet, MacDonald, Mordigliani, etc., and others should be entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble the Second International."

In view of the fact that, even before the war, there was a view in the Social-Democratic Parties that the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, "introduce civilisation into the colonies," while during and after the war, the Social-Democrats with particular cynicism, supported the plunder and division of the colonies, the Communist International demanded, in condition No. 8, from the parties wishing to join it "a specially clear line of the parties in those countries where the bourgeoisie possesses such colonies and oppress other nations. Every Party desirous of belonging to the Third International should be bound to denounce without any reserve all the methods of 'their own' imperialists in the colonies, supporting, not in words, but in deeds, every independence movement in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of their own imperialists from such colonies, and cultivate among the workers of their own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the toiling population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population."

At the Second Congress, in the reports and discussions, and especially in the resolutions, the main fire was directed against the reformists, social-chauvinists and social-pacifists of all kinds—against the rights and "centre." But simultaneously, both in the reports, the discussion and the resolutions, a struggle is carried on also against left phrases and sectarianism.

At the Second Congress there were speeches against work in the reformist trade unions, and in Parliament. In the vote on the resolution on "the trade union movement, the factory committees and the Third International," thirteen delegates abstained. Immediately after the war, among the revolutionary workers there began a strong tendency against joining the reformist trade unions and working in them (and also against the participation of Communists in Parliament), in spite of the fact that the reformist trade unions had become much larger than they were before the war. The deep roots of these feelings are shown by the fact that they appeared simultaneously in a number of the biggest capitalist countries. The First Congress of the Communist Party of Germany, under the influence of these elements, decided against participation in Parliament (the C.P.G. did not participate in the elections to the Constituent Assembly) and against work in the reformist trade unions. Even at that time Lenin foresaw the danger of neglecting the work in mass organisations like trade unions. Before the Second Congress he published an article in No. 10 of the "C.I.": "Should revolutionaries work in reactionary Trade Unions?" and issued a booklet "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder." In both the article and the book (the article was included in the book as Chapter 6, under the same title), Lenin sounds the alarm against the "left" tendencies and feelings. First of all, the pamphlet was directed against the Communist Labour Party in Germany, the Shop Steward Movement in England, the revolutionary syndicalists, Bordiga and his followers. The following years showed how far-seeing Lenin had been in attacking this "left-wing sickness of Communism." The Communist International and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties have not yet sufficiently carried out the numerous decisions on the work of Communists among the reformist, Catholic and Fascist mass trade unions. Many revolutionary workers, including members of the Communist Party, have been caught by the provocation of the trade union bureaucrats, who do everything in their power to make the work of the revolutionary elements in the trade unions impossible. Instead of strengthening the work in the trade unions, the revolutionary workers left them wholesale, enabling the trade union bureaucrats to carry these unions along the path of reformist treachery without hindrance.

The ninth condition requires that the Parties entering the Communist International and those wishing to join it should "carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the trade unions, in workers' and industrial councils, co-operative societies and other mass organisations. It is necessary to organise Communist groups in these organisations which, by means of practical and stubborn work, must win over the trade unions, etc., for the cause of Communism. These groups should constantly denounce the treachery of the social-patriots and the vacillations of the "centre" at every step. These

Communist groups should be completely subordinated to the Party in general."

The tenth condition requires the struggle against the Amsterdam Trade Union International and support for the "incipient international alliance of Red trade unions affiliated to the Communist International."

The eleventh condition was a particularly sore point for the leaders of the Socialist Parties. All the activity of the Social-Democratic Parties before the war, and also after, took place in and around Parliament. All the Party leaders, the entire C.C., were in the parliamentary fraction, the whole practice of which was directed to collaboration with the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, as mentioned above, at the Second Congress there were representatives of sectarian tendencies which spoke against work in Parliament. A number of delegates from various countries—France (Goldenberg, from the Youth League), Italy (Bordiga), Great Britain (Gallacher), Germany (Suschi, a revolutionary syndicalist), Switzerland (Hertzog) spoke against the participation of Communists in Parliament, against the utilisation of the parliamentary tribune (seven delegates voted against the resolution on "The Communist Parties and Parliamentarism"). On this question the Congress carried on a struggle for the proper tactics on two fronts, concentrating the fire upon the reformists and "centrists." The eleventh condition of admission is based on the recognition of the necessity of utilising the parliamentary tribune for really revolutionary propaganda and agitation. All parties wishing to belong to the Third International are obliged to revise the parliamentary fractions and remove from them "unreliable elements, to control such fractions not only verbally, but in reality to subordinate them to the Central Committee of the Party, and to demand from every Communist Member of Parliament that he devote his entire activity to the interests of really revolutionary propaganda." The parliamentary politicians of those Parties which wished to join the Communist International, fearing to lose their soft seats in Parliament, did everything in their power to hinder their Parties from joining the Communist International.

The twelfth condition deals entirely with the structure of the Party on the principle of democratic "*centralism*."

> "At the present time of acute civil war, the Communist Party will only be able fully to do its duty when it is organised in the most centralised manner, if it has iron discipline bordering on military discipline, and if the Party centre is a powerful authoritative organ with wide powers, possessing the general trust of the Party members."

Many Parties wished to assure themselves "autonomy" in the Communist International, like that which they had in the Second International. We know that the Congresses of the Second International could decide what they liked, but the various Parties could avoid carrying these decisions out. Even now the resolutions passed by the Second International are not compulsory on the organisations belonging to it,and on many occasions they are adopted with the full realisation that they will not be carried into practice, adopted merely for the sake of form, to deceive the masses.

But even inside the Parties themselves, the parliamentary fractions, leaders, editors, public speakers, writers, etc., do not submit to the decisions of their Congress, and still less to the decisions of their C.C The point on iron discipline, and "discipline bordering on military discipline," naturally frightened away all such "lovers of freedom," who were accustomed to "space" such as is given by Parties of the Social-Democratic type, and these Parties, in turn, were frightened away from the Communist International. The history of the last few years shows that even among the Parties which accepted the twenty-one conditions, or which joined the Comintern even before the Second Congress, there were leaders who did not wish to submit to the discipline of the Comintern, or the discipline of their own Parties, as required by the twelfth condition of acceptance into the Comintern.

The thirteenth condition is quoted at the head of this article. It refers to the systematic cleansing of the Party from petty-bourgeois elements which attach themselves to it. The Communist Parties have not in a single country such legal conditions as the Social-Democratic Parties had before the war. Up to the present, no section of the Comintern carries on such periodical cleansings as that of the C.P.S.U., the only revolutionary and simultaneously absolutely legal Party and Government Party. Cleansing from reformist and "centrist" elements takes place in the sections of the Comintern in a different manner, which will be dealt with later.

The fourteenth condition requires the Parties wishing to join the Communist International to "give every possible support to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist Parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport munitions of war intended for enemies of the Soviet Republics, carry on legal or illegal propaganda among the troops which are sent to crush the workers' republics."

During the war of Poland against the Soviet Union, the workers, under the leadership. both of the Communist Party and of those Parties which really wished to join the Communist International, brought

about a stoppage of aid for the Denikins, Kolchaks and other White Guard gangs, handicapped the transport of munitions, and in general hindered the imperialists in giving aid to Poland, and struggled for the recall of the interventionist troops from the Soviet Union.

The fifteenth condition required the Parties joining the Comintern to change their old programmes, to work out "a new Communist programme in conformity with the special conditions of their country and in accordance with the resolutions of the Communist International," and demanded that these programmes should be presented for confirmation to the Communist International, a thing which the Second International never demanded.

The sixteenth condition requires the Parties which join the Communist International to submit to the decisions of the Executive Committee, thus making the Comintern into a united world Party, in contradistinction to the Second International.

The seventeenth condition requires every Party to take the name of the Communist Party, Section of the Third Communist International: "The question of the name is not only a formal one, but is a political question of great importance. The Communist International has declared a decisive war against the entire bourgeois world and all the yellow Social-Democratic Parties. Every rank and file worker must clearly understand the difference between the Communist Parties and the old official "Social-Democratic" or "Socialist" Parties which have betrayed the cause of the working class."

The eighteenth condition requires the leading printed organs of the Communist Parties of all countries to publish all the chief documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The nineteenth condition demands that, not later than four months after the Second Congress, the Parties should call a special Congress and that, before it was called, the local organisations should become acquainted with the decisions of the Second Congress.

The twentieth condition requires that the Central Committees and the chief institutions of the Party should consist to the extent of two-thirds of comrades who, even before the Second Congress, had "openly and definitely declared for joining the Third International."

Finally, the twenty-first conditions says: "*Members of the Party who reject the conditions and theses of the Communist International on principle must be expelled from the Party.* This applies also to the delegates of the special Party Congresses." These special Party Congresses were to discuss the question of joining the Third International.

Thus the Second Congress not only required the Parties, which wished to join the Communist International, to relinquish the old Social-Democratic programme in practice, tactics, organisational methods, the old inter-relations between Party organisations and the fractions of mass non-Party organisations, not only demanded the expulsion of the old reformist and "centrist" leaders, of the parliamentarians, but that the Parties wishing to join the Comintern should expel those members who rejected on principle the decisions and theses of the Communist International and the conditions of admission. All this was done so that the reformists and centrist elements which were in the previous Socialist Parties, so that the leaders who were compelled, under the pressure of the masses to join the Communist International, could not remain in the Party with the aim of turning it into a Party of the ordinary Social-Democratic type, at a suitable moment.

The absolute correctness and the undoubted necessity of all this was shown by the struggle which later took place in the Communist Parties, when the reformist and centrist elements who remained in the Parties and who tried to carry on a struggle against the principles of the programme, tactics and organisation of Bolshevism, were driven out of the Parties in accordance with the line laid down in the twenty-one conditions.

The twenty-one conditions of admission into the Communist International were adopted at the Congress with only two delegates voting against.

WHAT WAS THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES SEEKING ADMITTANCE, TO THE TWENTY-ONE CONDITIONS?

The Italian Socialist Party, whose representatives at the Second Congress of the Comintern voted for the twenty-one conditions, called a Congress in Livorno in January, 1921. At this Congress the Communists who proposed that the decisions of the Second Congress be confirmed entirely and without reservations received 58,000 votes. Seratti, who stated at the Second Congress that the twenty-one conditions were unsuitable for Italy; that the expulsion of the reformists from the Party would mean a split to which he could not agree (Seratti and his supporters in particular left the trade unions in the hands of the reformists), received 96,000 votes at this Congress. The reformists obtained 14,000 votes. Seratti, who based his centrist position on his wish to avoid a split, drew the following conclusion from the distribution of votes at the Congress: He did not wish to struggle against the reformists who received 14,000 votes, so he split with the Communists, who received 58,000 votes. The Communists left the Socialist Party and organised the Communist Party.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that Seratti and his supporters followed the reformists at the

Congress, as the Socialist Party of Italy, on the eve of the Congress, at a decisive moment had shown in practice that it did not stand for revolutionary methods of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. From August 27th to September 19th, 1920, the Italian workers seized the factories throughout all Italy. The Socialist Party did not stand at the head of the movement. Not only did it fail to organise immediate support for this revolutionary action of the proletariat, but throughout the country it tried its utmost to crush it. At that time the Communists had not their own Party. They only constructed it after the January Congress in 1921. However, the seizure of the factories by the workers could have served as the starting point for a victorious proletarian revolution if, at that moment, the vanguard of the proletariat had been organised as a Communist Party. The situation which arose at that time as the result of the occupation of the factories in 1920 was described as follows by Bonomi, the Prime Minister of Italy, in his reminiscences "Del Sozializma e del Fascizma."

> "Finally, in September, 1920, it seemed that the time had come for the Italian Socialists to be bold (he is speaking of the seizure of the factories). This was the culminating point in the development of revolutionary Socialism, the only great revolutionary experiment tested simultaneously throughout all Italy. But it was defeated owing to causes which will astonish future historians, namely: the movement was victorious and unresisted. It did not meet with any difficulties in its path. This movement had not the boldness to take on itself the initiative of attacking and winning political power, and limited itself merely to occupying the factories, expecting that capitalist economy would capitulate to the Red Flag waving along its front. A few days later the movement exhausted itself in its own impotence."

In these words we find the admission by the class enemy that, if the Socialist Party of Italy had been really revolutionary and taken the lead of this movement, giving it the necessary scope, it could have led to an armed revolt and the seizure of power, as the Government power in Italy was shattered and very weak at that time.

At the conference of the three internationals which took place in April, 1923, Seratti was present as the representative of the Socialist Party of Italy, which had not joined any of the three internationals existing at that time.

In October, 1922, before the Fascists came to power, the Italian Socialist Party split at the Rome Congress. The supporters of Seratti received 32,000 votes, while the reformists increased the number of their votes to 29,000 (a year previously the reformists had received only 14,000 votes). Thus, at the time the Fascists came to power in Italy, there were three Parties which arose from the Socialist Party of Italy—the Communist Party, the Maximalist Party (supporters of Seratti) and the Reformist Party. After the Fascists came to power in Italy, in reality only the Communist Party continued to exist, as the other two Parties gave up their existence in Italy itself while the most prominent reformists (D'Arragona and Co.) went over to the Fascists. It is known that recently the German Social-Fascists followed the example of D'Arragona and handed over the trade unions to the Fascists, just as he did.

In August, 1924, Seratti and some of his followers returned to the Comintern, having joined the Italian Communist Party. This took place after he had become convinced that his refusal to accept the twenty-one conditions put forward by the Comintern had deprived the Italian proletariat of Bolshevik leadership at the decisive moment, and had thus caused the defeat of the proletarian revolution in Italy for a number of years.

The Congress of the Socialist Party of France took place on December 25th, 1920, in Tours. The vast majority of the Congress voted for joining the Communist International. Of the Party leaders of that time, Cachin, Frossard, and Daniel Renault remained. The right leaders Renaudel, Blum, Faure, Longuet, etc., split away and organised the Socialist Party.

In autumn, 1920, there was the Congress of the German Independent Social-Democratic Party. The overwhelming majority were in favour of accepting the twenty-one conditions, and all the decisions of the Communist International. Among the Party leaders who were present at the Second Congress of the Comintern, Daumig and Stöecker went with the majority. This majority of "Independents" joined with the Communist Party of Germany. As for the minority of "Independents," they continued to exist for a short time as an Independent Party, but soon returned to the fold of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Crispien and Dittmann, who were also present at the Second Congress, quietly went over to the old Social-Democratic Party, which suitably estimated their counter-revolutionary services, and even put them in its Central Committee.

The I.L.P. of Great Britain did not join the Comintern. It returned to the Second International. As part of the Labour Party, it shared the "fate" of the latter. Together with the Labour Party, at the decisive moment of 1926 it betrayed the general strike, and later the miners' strike. Together with the Labour Party, it afterwards betrayed the interests of the working class through the first and second Labour Governments. Very recently, when the crisis greatly affected the economic situation of th

British working class, when the British workers began to get more radical, under the influence of the growing crisis and increasing poverty and unemployment, striking and organising big unemployed demonstrations, the members of the I.L.P. began to respond to the call of the Communists for the formation of a united front of struggle against the capitalist offensive, fascism and the war danger. The I.L.P. again left the Second International and under the pressure of its members is again negotiating with the Communist International regarding assistance in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, both in Great Britain, and on an international scale. There can be no doubt that the leaders of the I.L.P. are using every effort to drag out the negotiations in the hope that the crisis will soon end, and they will be able to return once more to the Labour Party and the Second International. The future will show whether the members of the I.L.P. will follow their leaders a second time.

Although the representatives of the *Norwegian* Labour Party voted at the Second Congress for accepting the twenty-one conditions, they did not greatly hurry to carry them into practice. Tranmel and Co., the leaders of this Party, waited for the revolutionary tide to fall and sought a convenient opportunity to split with the Communist International.

The Norwegian Labour Party regarded itself as part of a general federative international organisation and was against democratic centralism, and the Comintern discipline. In reply to all the demands of the E.C. of the Comintern to change the name of the central organ of this Party (it was called the "Social-Democrat"), no satisfactory reply was received. The Norwegian Labour Party continued to build its organisation on the basis of collective membership, just as before entering the Communist International. The trade unions *in toto* were members of the Norwegian Labour Party, and this is still the case.

The Norwegian Labour Party in practice collaborated with the bourgeoisie. It supported the liberal ministry, in spite of the protests of the Comintern. Therefore a split became inevitable. After this split, an independent Communist Party of Norway was organised.

HOW THE COMMUNIST PARTIES CLEANSED THEMSELVES FROM REFORMISTS AND "CENTRISTS" ON THE BASIS OF THE TWENTY-ONE POINTS

During the whole of their existence, the sections of the Comintern have carried on a struggle in their own ranks for Bolshevisation, the growing soundness of their programmes, tactical and organisational principles, against all kinds of opportunism in theory and practice, against all deviations and a conciliatory attitude towards them, and have cleansed and are cleansing their ranks from petty-bourgeois elements, on the basis of the principles set out in the twenty-one conditions.

We give here a few examples of such an actual cleansing of the ranks of the Sections of the Comintern from old leaders, who concealed their Social-Democratic essence, but exposed themselves at decisive moments, when the Party passed on to more determined methods of struggle in accordance with the changed situation.

The Secretary of the Socialist Party of France, Frossard, who was at the Second Congress of the Comintern and at the Congress of the Socialist Party in Tours, voted for this Party to join the Communist International. He remained in the Party until 1923. Under the cover of left phrases, at one time he spoke against the tactic of the united front, and then advocated unity with the Social-Democratic Parties. He opposed the carrying out of one of the twenty-one points, on the subordination of the Party Press to the C.C., regarding this as an expression of "barrack régime in the Party." When the Comintern demanded that the newspaper "Journal de Peuple," which was edited by Fabre, a warm supporter of Frossard, should be submitted to the control of the C.C. of the Party, Frossard finally exposed himself, split with the Communist Party, and after a short existence as an "independent" Socialist, returned to the Socialist Party, where he is now in the extreme right wing, together with Renaudel.

Paul Levi, who at the Second Congress, under the cover of left phrases, was against the acceptance of the "Independents" into the Comintern, acted as a reformist and opportunist in 1921 in the March events. He was expelled from the Party and soon drifted into the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

Daumig, who assisted in the adoption of the twenty-one conditions by the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, left the Party after the March events in 1921.

Höglund, the leader of the left Swedish Social-Democratic Party, like the Norwegian Labour Party and its leader Tranmel, sought for an excuse to leave the Communist International. When the Comintern put before him, in a decisive form, the necessity for a real struggle against the Swedish Social-Democratic Party and opportunism inside the Communist Party of Sweden, the necessity for a struggle against pacifism, Höglund and his few supporters stated that they would not submit to these decisions, and were expelled from the Comintern (August, 1924). Höglund and his supporters at first prided themselves on their "independence" but quietened down, and returned to the fold of the Social-Democratic Party.

Kilbom and some other leaders of the Communist Party of Sweden, displayed their Social-Democratic

essence much later, after the Tenth Plenum, when the Comintern pointed out to the Swedish and other Sections the necessity of carrying on a more direct and determined struggle, in connection with the new conditions, against the Rights and against a conciliatory attitude towards them, and to carry out the tactic of class against class in practice. Kilbom and Co. supported the Brandlerites and did not agree with the decisions of the Sixth Congress and the Tenth Plenum, and made up their minds to split. Concealing themselves beneath a "loyal" attitude to the Comintern, they tried to seize the newspaper and the property of the Party, to strengthen their position in the struggle against the Comintern and its Swedish Section, and leave the Communist International. They did not succeed in this. They met with decided opposition from the Party members in the local Party organisations, and were expelled from the Party. Now they differ very little from the Social-Democratic Party of Sweden.

The "left" Bordiga, who at the Second Congrese opposed the acceptance of the German "Independent" Social Democrats and the French Socialist Party into the Comintern, opposed the use of the parliamentary tribune, and the tactic of the united front, soon drifted from this "left" sectarianism into right opportunism. Returning from exile he split with the Party, and now works as an engineer in Italy under the Fascist régime.

Brandler, Thalheimer and Walcher, ex Spartacists, showed themselves as opportunists when they let slip the revolutionary situation in Germany in 1923. They were then removed from the leadership and later (Thalheimer and others) from German work owing to their factional struggle. In general they continued to insist on their mistakes, to deepen them, and, after the Sixth Congress, they were expelled from the Communist Party of Germany for opposition to the tactic of class against class, the independent conducting of the economic struggle, the organisation of the trade union opposition in the trade unions, and the estimate of the Sixth Congress of the instability of the temporary stabilisation. The handful of opportunists who followed them joined with the "left" Social Democrats, Seidewitz and Co., who had left the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and formed the so-called Social-Democratic Labour Party, which has now completely disappeared from the political horizon since the Fascist *coup d'état*.

The Czecho-Slovakian Social-Democratic Party, by a majority decided to join the Comintern. The minority remained in the Czecho-Slovakian Socialist Party. But for a number of years the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia was incapable of liberating itself from its Social-Democratic past, and did not carry out the twenty-one conditions in practice. It remained passive and incapable of the mass revolutionary struggle. However, fresh forces matured in the Party, capable of putting forward new leaders and beginning the Bolshevisation of the Party. In 1929, when conducting the "Red Day," the Party leaders finally exposed themselves to the Party masses as incapable of organising and carrying on the mass revolutionary struggle. The leaders boastfully stated from the parliamentary tribune and in the Press that the "Red Day" would be held, even if it were prohibited. But when it was really prohibited, the Party leaders hid themselves, although the masses came on to the streets without receiving leadership from the C.C. and the Prague District Committee. This gave the signal for a campaign to start against the opportunist leadership.

After this disgraceful collapse of the "Red Day," the active Party members, with the help of the Comintern, brought about a determined change in the practice of the Party. A number of opportunists, Members of Parliament, were expelled from the Party—and many deserted themselves. The opportunists who had dug themselves into the leadership of the Red trade unions tried to split the Red trade unions, in which the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia had great influence. The previous leaders tried to emaciate the Party, seizing the newspapers, printing plants and property of the Party. But the revolutionary workers, the Party members, put forward new leaders, enlivened the Party organisations and for several years have carried on economic and political strikes, utilising the parliamentary tribune for revolutionary speeches. The Party Press is becoming the agitator of revolutionary action, and the organiser of the masses. Whereas previously, under the opportunist leadership, the Government did not touch the Communist Press, did not close down the Party papers, at the present time a censorship has been introduced on our Press and even Members of Parliament are arrested and tried. The number of members of the Party, which fell from 150,000 to 27,000 in 1930, has risen already to 80,000, while the Red trade unions are fighting and increasing their membership. In the course of the struggle against opportunism, and the cutting off of these unreliable opportunist elements, the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia strengthened its ranks, improved its revolutionary activity and strengthened its position in the working class.

The carrying on of the tactic of class against class, which was emphasised by the Eighth Plenum of the Comintern, assisted the French Section of the Comintern, as mentioned above, to cleanse itself from unstable opportunist and right elements, for whom election agreements with the left bourgeois and Socialist Parties were more important than the tactics and programme of the Communist Party. But in England, when the Communist Party, which

did not previously put forward its own candidates for Parliament, but supported the candidates of the Labour Party, began to put forward its own candidates in the chief industrial districts, when the minority movement began to organise independent strikes despite the trade union bureaucrats, many opportunist elements which called themselves Communists left the Party, or were later expelled for their anti-Party conduct. The Communist Parties cleansed themselves of counter-revolutionary and Trotskyist elements, from all the Rosmers, Trients, Urbans, Nins, etc.

Thus a cleansing takes place in the Communist Parties, which, in reality, are semi-legal, because in no country, not even in England, is the Communist Party really legal, having the possibility of publishing what it likes and calling for demonstrations or strikes.

> "Only the Communist Party, if it is really the vanguard of the revolutionary class, if it includes all the best representatives of this class, if it consists of fully conscientious and loyal Communists, educated and steeled by the experience of stubborn reovlutionary struggle, if this Party has succeeded in linking itself indissolubly with the life of its class and through it with all the exploited masses and creating complete confidence among this class and these masses, only such a Party is capable of leading the proletariat in the most merciless and decisive final struggle against all the forces of capitalism. On the other hand, only under the leadership of such a Party can the proletariat develop all the power of its revolutionary onslaught." (Resolution on the basic tasks of the Communist International, Section I, par. 4.)

There are already such Communist Parties in the capitalist countries.

The Communist Party of Germany has shown in practice that it not only rapidly adapts itself to unusually difficult illegal conditions, but it has not lost contact with the masses. The Communist Party alone has preserved and rapidly restored the local Party organisations, which were destroyed by the Fascists from top to bottom. It has not lost contacts with the mass non-Party organisations and, through them, with the working masses. The Communist Party of Germany not only publishes literature, but it holds demonstrations and leads strikes. It is a centre of attraction, mobilisation and organisation for everything which is revolutionary and growing in the working class of Germany. And never was its moral political authority among the working masses so high as at the present time.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria, in the kingdom of bloody Fascist terror, carries with it the majority of the workers of Bulgaria. It has great influence in the villages, and carries on work in the army. The military state of siege and the terror cannot destroy this influence.

The Communist Party of Poland, which firmly resists the blows of Fascism and tirelessly exposes the "left" tricks of the Polish Socialist Party, leads the struggle of the Polish proletariat in the factories and the struggle of the unemployed. It stands at the head of the struggle of the peasants not only in West Ukraine and West White Russia, but in Poland proper. It is linked up with the great masses of the proletariat, and the poor of the villages.

The Communist Party of China, in spite of the unprecedented terror (execution for distributing proclamations), issues an enormous amount of propagandist and agitational literature. It organises and leads the strike struggle, heads the mass movement directed against Japanese imperialism, and appears before the masses as the only force capable of struggling for the independence of China against imperialist oppression. The Communist Party of China leads the Soviet districts, where the Soviet power is established in practice on a large territory. It is building and strengthening the Red Army of China.

The Communist Party of Japan, since the first days of the war against China, is endeavouring to carry out the Leninist position in the struggle against war. In spite of severe persecution and repression, espionage and provocation, the vacillations and treachery of individual intellectuals—leaders of the Communist Party, it is widening its influence on the organised and unorganised workers, among the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. All the subtle and cunning struggle against "dangerous thoughts" were found helpless in isolating the Communist Party from the masses, or bringing disruption into its ranks. The Japanese bourgeoisie try to destroy the imprisoned Communists, leaving them to rot in prison, but the working class puts forward new cadres of fighters and organisers of the struggle.

There are not a few such really fighting Communist Parties in the Communist International. In the second cycle of wars and revolutions, the working class will not be under the leadership of treacherous Social Democracy, as in 1918-19. The Communist Parties, armed with the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, steeled in the struggle and with ranks cleared of opportunists of all kinds, will lead the working class to victory.

ARTHUR HENDERSON, AN INCARNATION OF NATIONAL-LABOURISM

By G. Safarov.

"The true lesson of this crisis in the League of Nations is, therefore, not that we should abandon the League and its covenant, but that we should use them fully, that we should stand by the obligations they contain and promote by every means in our power the co-operation to which we are pledged, for only so can a return to world prosperity be brought about." (*Daily Herald,* May 26, 1933.)

Arthur Henderson, President of the Disarmament Conference, flaunts his *respectable calmness.*

In the Far East, Japanese generals, capitalists and landlords are tearing the body of downtrodden China to pieces with their wolfish fangs. Mountains of corpses grow, blood flows, and is pumped into war super-profits; one conquest follows another. The aim of war against the land of victorious socialism is being proclaimed more and more openly. In the West, the great and small plunderers are dancing their pre-war "death dance," and preparing for a new clash for the division of the world. The imperialist barbarians hasten to embellish their "national" fences with the heads of executed revolutionary workers, who are guilty of a rebellious struggle against the imperialist hell in the making. All pacts and agreements have been pierced through by the mutual contradictions of the imperialists. British and American imperialism, French and Italian imperialism, German and Polish imperialism, Japanese imperialism, etc., etc., are hurling themselves against each other in all the most varied combinations, feeling out the weak, unprotected spots of their enemies and—friends.

Britain of the Churchills, Baldwins, MacDonalds, and Hendersons, are selecting "international" skeleton keys with which to open the way for an anti-Soviet war both from the West and East. She "wants to understand Hitler"! And she certainly understands the cut-throats of the Mikado, without words . . . But Henderson, the leader of the Second International, the President of the Disarmament Conference, which, from the very first day, became one of the hot-beds of war conspiracies and interventionist adventures, maintains imperturbable quiet. He is a believing man, quite unlike the cursed godless Bolsheviks. Piously and respectably he directs his thoughts to his British God. Without the Bible he moves not a step. He "believes" in "peace," a "peace" under which the destruction of whole nations is "not regarded" as war, a "peace" which leads with inexorable power and historical necessity, to war. Bourgeois religion combines faith in the divine business with the business spirit.

Henderson religiously removes his high-hat before capitalist providence and throws furtive glances at the balance sheets of the war supplies: Since 1925 Great Britain has been officially (which means that the figures are under-estimated) holding in her grasping hands *one-third of the world's export of arms.*

True, this Great Britain of the Armstrongs, Vickers, and colonial kings and rulers of the financial oligarchy, does not ignore the international imperialist conventions. When it becomes necessary to combine "moral indignation" against Japanese banditism with real aid to it, she, figuratively as it were, "forbids" for a short while the export of arms, both to the aggressor Japan and the attacked China.

Respectability, above all, otherwise Britain would not need the Hendersons.

But perhaps these suspicions about the leader of the Labour Party (for Henderson is the leader, while Lansbury, the loquacious expert in covering garden alleys with soft sand, is merely his fig leaf) are malicious inventions?

Facts, let us have the facts.

In order not to wander in conjectures, let us turn to the mental treasure house of British imperialism, to the monumental "Encyclopædia Britannica." It will certainly not misguide us:

Arthur Henderson (1863), British Labour politician, was born in Glasgow of working-class parents September 15th, 1863; but his work and interests subsequently lay at Newcastle (where he served an apprenticeship as moulder at Robert Stephenson & Co.'s works), and in the county of Durham. He gradually became prominent in connection with his own trade union and in the trade union movement generally. After a while he took a leading part in local affairs, and was for some years a member of the Newcastle city council and Darlington borough council. He was mayor in 1903 and was made a magistrate for the county of Durham. He entered Parliament for Barnard Castle as a Labour member, at a by-election in 1903. When the Labour Party were first returned to Parliament in force, in 1906, he soon made his mark as one of their leaders. In 1907 he took a prominent part in advocating the ending, rather than the mending, of the House of Lords; and in 1908 he was elected chairman of the party, a post which he held for two years and to which he was re-elected in the autumn of 1914,

when the then chairman, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, had to resign owing to his pacifist views.

As chairman, at the opening of the new session in that autumn, Mr. Henderson promised the full support of organised labour in maintaining the "splendid unity" of the nation.

When Mr. Asquith formed the first Coalition Ministry in 1915, he included Mr. Henderson in the Cabinet as President of the Board of Education, and also adviser of the Government on Labour questions arising out of the World War. Indeed his functions as Labour adviser so occupied his time and attention, that it was thought desirable to relieve him in August, 1916, of the Board of Education, and give him the practical sinecure of Paymaster-General so that he might be free to devote himself to the more congenial part of his work. Throughout the Ministry Mr. Henderson showed himself resolved on a strenuous prosecution of the war. He warmly advocated both the Munitions Bill and the Registration Bill, and had no hesitation in taking the further step of compulsory service, asserting on the first Military Service Bill, that the choice was between compulsion and defeat, and on the second bill, that the first had brought in more men than was expected, and, therefore, that there was every reason to anticipate the success of the second. He followed up this action by strongly urging the Labour Party to rally in December, 1916, to Mr. Lloyd George, and by accepting himself the position of an original member of the War Cabinet of four without portfolio. In consequence of his prominence as a labour protagonist of the war, his life was threatened, along with the Prime Minister's, by the conspiracy of a Derby family of anarchists, who were duly convicted, and sentenced to considerable terms of penal servitude, in March, 1917.

After the revolution in Russia, in the spring of 1917, Mr. Henderson visited that country on behalf of the British Government. He found there, as he subsequently explained, the most confused ideas current as to the aims of the Allies in the war, and deliberate perversions circulated by enemy agents. The then provisional Government at Petrograd favoured an international Labour and Socialist Conference, which was being promoted by the International Socialist Bureau and was to meet at Stockholm. They pressed Mr. Henderson to use his influence with British Labour to attend this Conference, and he, believing the Conference to be inevitable, came to the conclusion that, provided it were merely consultative, it would be better that British representatives should go, rather than permit Russian representatives to meet German representatives alone. He returned with these ideas to England and, being still secretary of the Labour Party as well as a member of the War Cabinet, used his influence as secretary to promote British Labour participation in the Conference. But though the majority of Labour men were apparently in his favour, public opinion in other classes was strongly against any conference with Germans in the midst of war. The Sailors' and Firemen's Union refused to carry the delegates. Mr. Henderson visited Paris in the company of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald to discuss the situation with Labour over there, but found that neither French, nor Belgian, nor Italian, nor American Labour was disposed to join. Moreover, all Mr. Henderson's Labour colleagues in the Government opposed his views; and on Mr. Lloyd George expressing the surprise of the rest of the War Cabinet at his action, and their dissent from his policy, he resigned and was succeeded by Mr. George Barnes.

The attitude of Labour internationalism was maintained by Mr. Henderson out of office, and he warmly espoused the Labour policy of the latter part of 1918, to take the Labour men out of the Government and appeal for support on a Labour platform, in conjunction with the pacifist wing of the party. This policy cost Mr. Henderson his seat in Parliament at the General Election of December, 1918. He was defeated by a candidate of the National Democratic Party in East Ham, and none of the pacifist Labour men with whom he had made common cause found their way into Parliament. He himself returned to the House of Commons at a by-election for Widnes in September, 1919. He strongly promoted the League of Nations in the early part of that year; he attended the International Socialist Conference at Berne, and in December, 1920, he paid an informal visit to Ireland in the hope of promoting peace."

The Encyclopædia Britannica does not mention the fact that this moulder, who so respectably put his head into the splendid top-hat of a gentleman with access to the court, began by being appointed an election agent of the Liberal Party for the purpose of catching workers' votes. It does not mention the fact that this man gave, "in the name of organised labour," the sign to a company of Tommies who shot down 14 leaders of the Irish revolutionary uprising in 1916 headed by the outstanding Irish Socialist, James Connolly. Nor does it mention, of course, the brutal treatment meted out to the revolutionary fighters against the imperialist slaughter, Henderson's support of the interventionists against the land of the Soviets in 1918-20, all the bloody actions perpetrated against the colonial revolutionary movements to which the peace-loving Henderson put his hand. In decent society these things are not mentioned.

However, even with these deliberate omissions, the British encyclopædia has given a colourful portrait of this "Labour leader."

Henderson has never risen above the mental level of a Liberal-Labour politician. In other words, he made a profession of his political mediocrity. He made a career by it. "Brainlessness, vulgar mediocrity serving in all cases, national capital and imperialism is a great thing," he repeated to himself while moving from one rung of the ladder to the next. The more degrading and humiliating his pose of serving the bourgeoisie, the more powerful became his voice and self-assurance at the Labour meetings. Having come into the world from a Liberal womb, Henderson unquestionably secured the special confidence of British imperialism by his "work" during the world slaughter. True, he was thrown out of the Government with an unceremonial kick in the pants. But he put a cheerful face on it. This was because he tried too hard, was too much in haste . . . . He always sought to take sharp turns by storm. "Any message that went from the Conference giving any of the allied countries the impression that they were weakening in their determination successfully to prosecute the war," declared Henderson at the Labour Party Conference held in Manchester in 1917, "would be a message of discouragement to the Allied Cause."

Here we have before us no simple Liberal agent for catching Labour votes. We have before us a supplier of proletarian cannon fodder to imperialism, an imperialist butcher, a respectable parliamentarian adherent of snail-pace evolution towards "democracy," who stands with sleeves rolled up, knife in hand. The butcher demands his cannon fodder for the front, for the stinking trenches, where capital fights by other people's hands for its slave-owning interests.

In the same despicable rôle he demands a tribute of blood from the Russian Revolution.

> "We and our allies are impatiently waiting for the Russian people to consolidate their freedom as soon as possible (time is money), and take part in the common offensive of the allied armies, as this is the only way which will lead us to the achievement of peace in accordance with the ideals of free democracy." (Speech delivered May 20th, 1917.)

The whole world now knows this peace, which is giving rise to a new imperialist slaughter.

The world knows something else as well. Raymond Poincaré, another highly-placed butcher, in his diaries of 1917, was forced to tell how the bloody offensive on the Russian front of June 18th, upon which Kerensky, Kornilov, Savinkov agreed with Vandervelde, Albert Thomas and Henderson, was particularly necessary to French and British imperialism to throttle the anti-war revolutionary movement in the west. Whole regiments and divisions were preparing to march on Paris with the slogan, "Long live the Soviets."

Henderson prepared the offensive of June 18th, promoting the capture of power by General Kornilov, the executionist, who raised a knife against the Revolution as soon as the resumption of hostilities on the Eastern front led to the inevitable defeat. Among Kornilov's troops, who were to crush the Soviets, were British armoured cars. From Henderson's visit to these armoured cars there is a deep and greasy trace.

Here is another stage—the intervention. The land of Soviets was encircled by enemies, who were frantically tearing her to pieces. An eighth of a pound of bread, such was the worker's ration in Leningrad and Moscow. The whole toiling country slept on its rifles. Naked and unshod, poorly armed and still inefficiently organised, the fighters of the Red Army battled on in numerous fronts. In the north, occupied by the British bandits, the workers were stood against the wall and shot down in batches.

Look at this "Labour leader." Here is a conference of the Labour Party, Southport, 1919. One of the delegates asks, Has the Parliamentary Labour Party raised the Russian question in the House of Commons? The answer is "No." They had no chance. The question had only been discussed "privately." Then Henderson arises and seizes the report on the work of the Parliamentary group. He is "surprised," "the report says everything." Stuff the report down your throats, while the British tanks with Denikin are mowing down the damned Bolsheviks! A point of procedure of bourgeois parliamentarism is unalterable even in the most monstrous times. Henderson is an invariable participant in all the international tricks and provocations of the Second International. Together with MacDonald, he "liberates Georgia," of course, shouts against the "dictatorship," waxes frothy over "Red militarism." Furthermore, he, together with the Berne Conference, of the social imperialists in 1919, lectures to the Bolsheviks :—

> "Socialisation presupposes a methodical development of the different aspects of economic activity under control of a democracy. The arbitrary seizure of several firms by a small number of workers is not socialism, but only capitalism, with a larger number of shareholders."

Ah! the British Labour Party, above all, knows the secret of true socialism. Compare the victory of socialism in the land of the Bolsheviks with —the progress of constructive "socialism" of the MacDonald brand in England!

No wonder the anti-semitic "Christian Social-Fascist," the Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss, found it impossible to leave the London Economic Conference without first issuing a certificate of good character to the party of the Hendersons. He placed it even "above" his own Bauers and Dannebergs. "The Austrian Socialist Party is not a Labour Party in the British spirit; the latter always retreats before the threat of injuring the interests of the State" ("Manchester Guardian," July 16th, 1933). Thus the Dollfuss declaims, patting Henderson and Co. on the back. "Democracy, the League and Disarmament, such are the three pillars on which alone it is possible to build the edifice of orderly progress," sings the battered old bird, Henderson.

Dollfuss "accepts" Henderson, just as Henderson accepts Dollfuss. This has become an inalienable element of the Four-Power Pact. And what about the British worker? His back aches from Henderson's pillars.

In the country which was yesterday the "world's workshop" unemployed workers are being tried for "stealing" coal from abandoned mines.

Here is a town in South Wales: "Right along the street the eye is caught, in house window after house window, by sad little handwritten notices: 'Boot Repairing Done Here'" (Allen Hutt, "The Condition of the Working Class in Britain").

Henderson told the British workers: The Bolsheviks have destroyed all industrial life in the country. In their factories they are making cigarette lighters.

Now, in England, the British workers, the creators of the gigantic achievements of industrial progress are doomed to return to miserable old handicrafts while the workers of the U.S.S.R., having completed their great first Five-Year Plan, are marching in a broad unbroken line to the classless socialist society.

In the classic land of imperialist parasitism, England, retail trade is becoming more and more dependent upon "serving the masters."

"The economic pressure has been so great that the migration of miners' daughters in search of work as domestic servants, as waitresses, and hotel maids, as shop assistants, and so forth, has increased at such a rate that in many areas the proportion of females to males in the population has declined, despite the male migration . . . . There has not only been a movement out of South Wales of girls and lads in search of labour; in South Wales itself the unemployment and depression in the basic industries has led to an increase in the number of workers employed in the distributive trades, which develop parasitically as the heavy industries decline, and to a general increase in female and juvenile labour. Between 1923 and 1930 the number of insured workers in the distributive trades in South Wales increased by 46 per cent." (Ibid.)

This is "coolie-ism" in the land of over-ripe capitalism. Owing to the impossibility of finding a place in industry, retail trade is becoming inflated like an abscess.

Compare this with the fact of the doubling of the number of workers employed in productive socialist labour in the U.S.S.R. during the first Five-Year Plan.

"Sheffield has a population of half a million, more than three-quarters of which is made up of working-class households. A survey of the standard of living conducted by the Sheffield Social Survey Committee shows that in the winter of 1931-32 nearly a fifth of these working-class households were living below or on the margin of the poverty line. Two out of every five families were living in "comparatively poor circumstances," half on or below the poverty line, the other half above but within a close distance of it. Even if there had been no unemployment (the most important cause), one in seventeen of the families would have been in or on the margin of poverty. Had it not been for various forms of "social income" (insurance benefits and pensions), but leaving public assistance and charity out of account, nearly two-thirds of the working-class population would have been below the poverty line" ("Manchester Guardian," June 30th).

Sheffield is metal. It is characteristic that families earning less than 40 shillings a week are paying out from one-fourth to one-third of this sum to the vampire landlords, with the cost of living what it is in England.

As regards Lancashire, British capitalism sees the only solution for it in levelling down the standard of living of the British textile workers to that of the Japanese. Japanese competition is killing the remnants of Lancashire's old power. The British worker must therefore learn to live the same as the Japanese textile worker, earning 15 yen a month for an 11-hour day, think the Lancashire magnates.

In England 55 per cent. of the national income belongs to the capitalists. Less than one per cent. of the population has an annual income of over 541 million pounds sterling.

Naturally, in this country, things are developing in a very opposite direction from the land of the Soviets. In the Soviet Republic the workers have not only emerged from the cellars and captured the palaces of the rich, but they are building, building and building new, spacious, clean and well-arranged homes for themselves. They are introducing socialism into the life of the millions.

Not so in "good old England." The British worker is driven more and more into pitiful huts without sun, without water, without the most elementary conveniences.. The British bourgeoisie, seeking to stimulate the building industry, raised a noise against the slums; this is sheer speculation and hypocrisy.

Here are the real facts :—

"Over the past thirty years and more estate companies have bought up working-class property in Chelsea as the leases fell in, demolished it, and built fine mansions and expensive flats into which governing-class tenants have flooded. To-day Chelsea has the highest percentage of "retired and unoccupied" persons of any London borough. The other side of the picture is that during this period some 20,000 working people and small traders were uprooted from their Chelsea homes" (Allen Hutt).

This description of the actual condition of the working class will adequately explain to each British worker why Bevin, one of the trade union Hendersons, speaking in Whitechapel, boastfully declared: "Hands off the London democracy. There is no room here for Russian slave labour or Bolshevist autocracy."

"England is not Russia." In the U.S.S.R. the workers and collective farmers are building spacious homes and palaces. In England the workers are building homes for the bosses, and moving more and more into slums so that there might be *more room for the bosses. "There is no room here for Russian slave labour or Bolshevist autocracy."*

A study of the conditions of the British working class is absolutely essential in an analysis of the political biography of Arthur Henderson.

Here are two careers differing to a point where one becomes the class *opposite* of the other.

The personal career of the Right Honourable Arthur Henderson is only one of the individual variants of the political biography of British Labour bureaucrats and Labour aristocrats. Henderson is a collective type.

Henderson's career may be contrasted to the life of the *masses* of the British proletariat.

While Henderson, bending his back more and more and changing his colours skilfully, rose higher and higher up the ladder of the capitalist hierarchy, the mass of the British workers began to feel more and more acutely and painfully the growing aggravation of their situation. The relatively higher living standards of large sections of the British workers, compared with the continental workers before the war, helped the Hendersons and the MacDonalds to mount the back of the British Labour movement and saddle it.

The World War dealt the first serious blow at the imperialist illusions of those sections of Labour, which, not participating in the crumbs from the master's table, stubbornly adhere to the view that without imperial power, without a mighty navy and colonial super-profits, the British worker cannot enjoy decent conditions of life.

The war made them pay a tribute in blood, increased the destitution among the masses to an unprecedented degree, and brought about a high cost of living.

From the war and the seething cauldron of the first revolutionary storm, the slave-holding empire emerged battered and undermined. The billionaire bondholders remained, and many of them piled up even greater wealth. The social poles moved even further apart. The class contradictions were sharpened. They were sharpened precisely because, under the conditions of the universal crisis of capitalism the dictatorship of the billionaire slave-owners pressed with all of its power upon the mass of the British working class, and the *colonies*. The British workers of Lancashire, the Midlands and Wales began to display an interest not for the glittering trappings of the constitutional monarchy and imperialist state, but for the fate of the Soviet power, for the struggle for the liberation of the Meerut prisoners, etc.

Imperialism holds out to the British worker the prospect of conversion into a colonial coolie. The British worker cannot reconcile himself to such a prospect. He cannot reconcile himself to his destitution and enslavement in the face of the giant socialist victories in the land which was famous in the old days, under the old masters, for its traditional backwardness. For this reason, he cannot reconcile himself to the Hendersons. He sees two roads, two "careers," two classes.

Lenin, the great and unforgettable leader of the workers of the world, told the workers: "Opportunism means sacrificing to the temporary interests of an insignificant minority of the workers, the fundamental interests of the masses, or, in other words, an alliance of a part of the workers with the bourgeoisie against the mass of the proletariat" ("Collapse of the Second International"). Opportunism grew on the imperialist yeast into imperialism, into fascist-police devotion to the bourgeois dictatorship, into provocative treacherous disorganisation and suppression of the working class.

The laws of capitalism left an indelible imprint upon the political biography of the *counter-revolutionary degenerates* among the working class. Their "fusion" with capital found a reflection both in their social fate and personal career.

The growth of capital is tantamount to a strengthening of wage-slavery. The rise of the Hendersons to the first rank of bourgeois politicians was tantamount to a strengthening of the political and economic enslavement of the British proletariat.

The Hendersons went up, became ministers and international agents of British capital. The British workers were caught more and more in the whirlpool of misery, unemployment and slavery. Is it not time to reverse the course of events, against capital and its lackeys?

3.—REVOLUTION IS NOT IN THE BRITISH CHARACTER.

The divine trade, the Bank of England, the City, the "glorious British fleet," all the forces of heaven and earth are on the side of "normal" development of the capitalist relations.

> "Revolution is a word of evil omen. It calls up a vision of barricades in the streets and blood in the gutters. No responsible person, however determined he or she may be to effect a complete transformation of society, can contemplate such a possibility without horror."*

GET THEE BEHIND ME, SATAN!

Henderson, horror-stricken, shakes off the terrible nightmare. To sacrifice a dozen or so million people that the British jack-boot might trample upon India and Egypt, Ireland and China, that the capitalist might grow fat on blood and destitution, is quite legitimate. This does not horrify Henderson. On the contrary, it arouses his admiration. He has demonstrated this by his deeds, particularly from 1914 to this year.

The "Labour Governments" of 1924 and 1929-31, in which Henderson was MacDonald's closest partner, put down with patriotic solidarity and without the least delay, the revolts of the Arab peasants in Palestine and Egyptian workers in Bulak, sent dreadnoughts and destroyers to China, mowed down by machine-gun fire all those breaking the imperialist "laws," wiped off the face of the earth entire villages on the north-western frontier of India and in Burma, etc., etc. All this was not "bloodshed." All this was carried out on the same "lawful" capitalist basis as the numerous attempts to strangle and undermine the land of Soviets.

Quite another thing, an uprising of the oppressed against the oppressors, of the exploited against the exploiters.

"To the British people, in particular, the prospect of a period of convulsive effort of this character is wholly without appeal."†

Arthur Henderson popularised his pronouncement upon the incompatibility of revolution with British citizenship—especially in 1920. At that time he pointed, with trembling finger, to the burning Bickford cord: "If barricades are indeed likely to be erected in our streets they will be manned by men who have learned how to fight and not by ill-disciplined mobs unversed in the use of modern weapons, likely to be easily overcome by trained troops."*

Petty-bourgeois mediocrity, servile nonentity, who, by his "ascent" to power, symbolised the entire abyss of the political humiliation of the working class, Henderson, with the assiduity of a best pupil, has always sought to remember the instructions of his bourgeois teachers by heart.

Lloyd George, first among the politicians of British imperialism, raised before his class the problem of the revolution in England. Shortly after the war he warned:

> "Four-fifths of this country is industrial and commercial; hardly one-fith is agricultural. It is one of the things I have constantly in my mind when I think of the danger of the future here. In France the population is agricultural, and you have a solid body of opinion which does not move very rapidly and which is not easily excited by revolutionary movements. That is not the case here. This country is more top-heavy than any country in the world, and if it begins to rock, the crash here, for that reason, will be greater than in any other land." (D. Lloyd George, March 18th, 1920; quoted by Lenin in "Left-Wing Communism," p. 63.)

Henderson drew his organisational conclusions from Lloyd George's wisdom. No wonder Lenin pointed out that: "The difference between Lloyd George and the Scheidemanns, Legiens, Hendersons and Hyndmans . . . is a negligible difference of degree, if the question is to be taken politically, that is on a mass scale" ("Imperialism and the Split of Socialism").

The well-wishing historian of the Labour Party writes even about the first stages of Henderson's career as follows: "The rise of Henderson was remarkable. For Arthur Henderson, member of the Moulders' Union, student of the Wesleyan College and teetotaler, was a well-qualified politician. He could speak, knew the ins and outs, how to lead election campaigns and organise political votes better than others. He learned all this as an agent for the Liberal Party which he

* "Aims of Labour," p. 57.

† Ibid., p. 57.

* Ibid., p. 59

later left. Never stooping to bang the drum as leader, Arthur Henderson was irreplaceable as Chief of Staff."

The British Labour Party developed as a Liberal parliamentary appendage of the semi-Liberal trade unions. Formally it embraced all the workers organised in trade unions. Its political and organisational looseness was in harmony with the Liberal-Labour policy, which sought to insure complete political subordination of the working class to the bourgeoisie, with the aid of the MacDonalds and Hendersons.

However, under the conditions of the *ever-sharpening* class struggle, this proved to be *insufficient*. At a special conference in 1918 it was decided to re-organise the Labour Party.

"Although previously, according to Henderson, it may have been considered, with certain justification, that brain workers entering the Party, not through the Trade Union or the Socialist Party, could be merely 'tolerated,' to-day it is realised that they must be admitted on equal terms, that they should be afforded individual membership through the local constituency organisations.

"The purpose of this is to *destroy all class differences* . . . This instituted the final voluntary conversion of the Labour Party from a Party of a part of society into a National Party, and formally opened the door to co-operation of workers by hand and by brain, greatly increasing the power and influence of the Labour Party."

"Brain-workers," it will be easy to realise, is merely a pseudonym for ordinary bourgeois. The conversion of workers into a parliamentary spring-board for bourgeois upstarts, the subordination of the workers to the bourgeoisie under the pretext of organising a "Labour Party" was thus legalised by Henderson's efforts.

Henderson formally vested the bourgeoisie with the possession of the Labour Party. The "class exclusiveness" of the proletariat always hides within itself the threat of a revolt. Listen to what Scanlon, one of the old Labourites, tells about this final castration of the Labour Party in his sensational book :

> "The result of altering the constitution simply was that everybody with a grievance joined the Labour Party in the belief that it existed solely to right individual wrongs, and when any rich person with a grievance joined the Party, he or she at once felt they ought to be adopted for Parliament so that the grievance could be attended to properly* . . . At no time had the worst forms of adversity succeeded in bringing together such strange diverse types as found themselves jammed side by side in one Labour bed in the Parliament of 1922† . . . Each had a fixed idea : some concentrated on worn-out horses, some on oppressed minorities, provided the minorities were not too near. There were generals who had been overlooked in the war and wanted the whole system of promotion altered. Others (not generals) were willing to give their time and energy to seeing that the Sabbath Day was kept holy" (Scanlon, "Decline and Fall of the Labour Party").

The magnificent and charming, the ostentatiously hospitable Lady Astor, proved to be not the last spoke in the Labour chariot. At her receptions she taught the novices among the Labour members of Parliament the code of respectability.

"Class co-operation" in imperialist and conservative England, which, despite the threatening condition of her health, has not unlearned to value the traditional system of life, begins with the fraternisation of Liberals, Conservatives and Labourites in the cricket, tennis and golf clubs of the House of Commons. There, people learn of their common tastes and adopt a proper tone. There, bulky manufacturers and bankers throw phrases about which are later carried from the club fields to the working-class audiences, phrases such as the winged sentence uttered by the prima donna of ministerial socialism, Ramsay MacDonald, "The general strike is the last resort of an imbecile" (1923).

The whole organisational structure and internal life of the Labour Party was rebuilt on Henderson's initiative, in accordance with the rules of parlour etiquette, the directions of Lady Astor, MacDonald's club habits and the vainglorious pretensions of Sir Oswald Mosley, the future organiser of British fascism.

> "Stories of his fabulous wealth had spread themselves all over the country, and coupled with that was the fact that his wife was the daughter of Lord Curzon . . . No sooner had Mr. Mosley come into the Party than there began the heartbreaking spectacle of local Labour Parties tumbling over themselves to secure him as their candidate . . . In this orgy of the worship of wealth the I.L.P. was worst of all, and so bad did the situation become that a special meeting of the National Council of the I.L.P. had to be held to consider the many letters of application."*

Quietly the Labour Party leaders called the novices from the Parliamentary Labour Party to the receptions of the king. This monarchial detail cannot be overlooked, for, as Lord Passfield

* page 30.

† pages 31-32.
* Scanlon, page 180-182.

(Sidney Webb) naïvely said, in justifying himself before the Conservatives in the House of Lords, on September 9th, 1931, "His Majesty's opposition has always been a necessary part of our parliamentary government." "His Majesty's opposition," which is always liable to become "His Majesty's government," must have access to Buckingham Palace. But, from the above, it should be perfectly clear why all those "suspected of Communism" in the National Labour Party, in the trade unions controlled by it, must be persecuted in the most merciless manner. The "splendid unity" of the nation, with which Henderson was so concerned, as far back as 1914, he sought to embody in the very structure of the Labour Party.

Is it any wonder that, in 1931, the Labour Party gave birth to MacDonald's National-Labour group, which is openly and officially going the remaining one-tenth of the road, covered by the Hendersons, Lansbury and Co. only to 90 per cent.?

The "Labour" Government of 1929-31 was the first stage in the offensive of British capital against the working class. It began to cut the wages of the textile workers, railwaymen, miners, etc. It began to slash the unemployed benefits. Snowden, the "Hunger Chancellor," the sadist of capitalist niggardliness and the meanest hypocrite, merely summed up and personified the results of the class policy of the Labour government. Similarly, MacDonald has merely brought to a consummation what had been begun earlier. MacDonald was a "pacifist" in 1914-18, when Henderson was Minister of imperialist war.

MacDonald became Premier-Lackey, running errands for Baldwin, and Henderson remained President of the imperialist Disarmament Conference, while becoming "His Majesty's opposition."

Where does one begin and the other end? *Where is the line of demarcation between these two shades of Baldwinised National-Labourism?*

An idle question! "Revolution is alien to the British character." The National-Labourites are helping the Baldwins to gag the real workers' England, which, in its sufferings and hopes, in its struggle for a piece of bread and the vital rights of the toilers, in its anxiety to learn and garner the experience of the first land of socialism in the world, is bearing the seeds of the proletarian revolutionary movement.

The National-Labourites seek to gag the Communist movement. Like bloody police hounds, they curse all revolutionary ideas as alien contraband.

They want to strike out of the memory of the British workers the history of the British working class, from Chartism to the revolutionary strikes on the Clyde in 1915-16, to the Shop Stewards and Councils of Action, to the stormy general strike of 1926. They want to erase from the mind of the working masses their steady revolutionisation.

This is an old national trick of British capital. Even Marx said that it seeks "to kill the future society in the mother's womb."

The Hendersons are hired murderers, charged with carrying out this task. That is why they so self-assuredly repeat: "Revolution is not a British characteristic."

They are mistaken in placing their hope on the lack of class character among the British workers. They will undoubtedly have to pay dearly for this error.

3.—THE THIRD DEGREE ON AN ALL-BRITISH SCALE AS A METHOD OF SAVING THE EMPIRE.

What sort of a Labour Party is it that is ruled by the Hendersons and their bourgeois protectors? Is it the organised impotence of the British working class, a peculiar form of political oppression and disorganisation of the proletariat by British capital, or an organisation of proletarian power?

The power of what class does it represent? The impotence and division of what class does it personify, support, and preserve?

We have already revealed the class face of this party, which is highly national in its methods of dampening and throttling the class struggle of the proletariat.

Its time-honoured standard-bearers, such as Cole, make no secret of this.

Cole writes without the least hesitation or shyness:

> "The British Labour Party tried the possibility of carrying out (?!) the policy of social reform, a re-distribution (?) of income by means of taxation and raising (??) the standard of life of the working class in the face of conditions of international competition, which sharply pressed on the British economic system. The only result of this was that a large section of its own followers realised that this policy was not realistic, and that therefore it was not only impossible to move definitely to Socialism, but also that it contracted the gains of social reform, to the extent that these were above the power of the workers' movement. It is sufficiently easy to show that the British Labour Party, even if it had attained an independent majority (at the elections and in the House), would have absolutely no right to consider the introduction of Socialism (!!!) possible in the near future without encountering the greatest difficulties, by constitutional means, not only

because this would encounter the House of Lords and, for that matter, (!) the Crown, but also because its majority would almost certainly consist of the most diverse elements, not all of whom would desire a full and immediate socialist programme" (June, 1933).

Cole attempted to camouflage the attack of the Labour Government of 1929-31 upon the British working class. He side-tracked the anti-socialist core of Labourism by a witty phrase. Nevertheless, he was unable to conceal the fact that this "Labour Government" prepared the victory of the Conservatives and MacDonald's National-Labourism. He was forced to say that the Labour Party is so closely allied with capital that any attempt at an essential social reform must explode it from within. The Labour Party has no intention whatsoever of taking power away from the bourgeoisie. It is a peculiar promotion office for the MacDonalds, Snowdens and Thomases. It is a parliamentary trade unionist pedestal for the Hendersons.

The British bourgeoisie found in this Labour Party an indispensable instrument for the maintenance of its dictatorship. In a country with an overwhelming majority of workers, it found a counter-balance to the growth of the class power and consciousness of the proletariat in corrupting the Labour bureaucracy and the Labour aristocracy, in the imperialist demoralisation of the degenerated top-layer of the working class.

Now this traditional system, owing to the growing disintegration of the imperialist power of the British bourgeoisie, is beginning to show more and more cracks. The British workers are steadily becoming more and more radical. The "Cossacks" on the streets of the biggest cities in England, the growing determination with which the workers resist the capitalist offensive, the united front from below, which grows more and more powerful, and breaks down the barriers of Labourism—these are all the symptoms of the birth of a new England, of a truly proletarian struggle and revolutionary determination.

The mass of the British workers is beginning to realise that the many decades of rule of British imperialism, and flourishing of social-imperialist Labourism have reduced them to the position of a headless rider. They are beginning to think independently, they are thirsting for a return of their freedom of independent class action. They are seeking to develop revolutionary determination. The events are impelling them to the fight for their vital interests with great power. They are losing faith in the swamp fires of parliamentary machinations, with all their class being, they sense that a tight knot is being drawn around their necks by the MacDonalds and Hendersons. By the blows of the capitalist whip, by the high cost of living, high tariffs, taxes and inflation, they are forced to pull the chariot of the old slave-holding empire out of the quagmire of the crisis. And what then? What next? Is Lancashire to be reduced to the level of the hungry workers of Osaka, Shanghai and Bombay? Adjustment, i.e., a reduction of the living standards of the British metal workers to those of Hitlerite Germany? The sinking of wages and labour conditions in the electric industry to the starvation level, assuring British capital an opportunity to compete? Safety first! But whose safety? Safety for imperialism means production of instruments of murder for anti-Soviet adventures. It is a prospect of a frantic grapple of the plunderers for a new partition of the globe. It is the hell of imperialist war, bloody pacification all over the world. It is a "chance" to die in a stinking trench or on barbed wire, amidst waves of poison gas and a hail of shells, that less than one per cent. of British citizens might have opportunity to pocket over half a billion pounds sterling annually, without outside interference.

The masses of the British workers are beginning to throw off the spell of capitalism. But behind them lurk the bosses' dogs. What, you want to follow the Bolshevist example? But how will England live without cotton from Egypt, Sudan and India, without tea from plantations, without food from the tributaries of imperialism, without raw materials from the colonies? We are still a free country, and things have not yet gone to such an extreme. Did not Henderson "himself," when the pound crashed in 1931, raise his hand with a pacifying gesture: "No panic! The pound will overcome all difficulties."

The British workers, who have been taught for decades not to think or act, still have a poor command of class arithmetic. Therefore, in reply to the intimidations of the imperialist sharks, some of them forlornly begin to look for a point of support. It is here that the big and little Hendersons come in handy. With a supercilious air they put the workers up against the wall: Is England threatened with a *fascist coup*? Where is it? Is it possible to imagine the urbane and respectable Stanley Baldwin, Neville Chamberlain, who on Sundays engages in the idyllic pursuit of sturgeon fishing, even Austin Chamberlain, who so furiously attacked the Nazis in Parliament, in the rôle of Adolf Hitler?

As far back as 1928, Comrade Stalin said: " . . . Social democracy is the principal conveyor of imperialist pacifism among the working class, and is, therefore, the principal support of

capitalism within the working class in the matter of preparation for new wars and for intervention. But for the purpose of preparing for new wars pacifism is not enough even though it be supported by so serious a force as Social-Democracy. Several *other means of suppressing the masses* in the imperialist centres are required. *It is impossible* to fight for imperialism unless the imperialist rear is strengthened. The imperialist rear cannot be strengthened without suppressing the workers. *This is what Fascism is for"* (Results of the July Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., "Questions of Leninism," 1932, page 126. Italics ours).

In imperialist England the Liberal-Labour policy has not only developed into social imperialism. Social-imperialism, and social-fascism on an imperialist background, found its necessary continuation in national Labourism which directly erases the line between imperialist service of the bourgeoisie, and the reactionary offensive of capital upon the proletarian to find a capitalist way out of the crisis. If Hitler crucifies the German workers on the fascist cross in the name of "Great Germany," in "most Christian" England the Baldwins, MacDonalds and Hendersons are preparing for the British workers a military penitentiary on a "lawful" imperialist basis, "in the name of the salvation of the empire."

Henderson was in the War Cabinet of the Big Four, he marched as MacDonald's minister through the first stage of the capitalist offensive, he holds the highest international pacifist post in the system of British imperialism's preparation for war for a division of the world and for intervention. He is the Chairman of the Disarmament Conference.

He has gained plenty of experience in suppressing rebellions by administrative and police measures. And he will show the British proletariat a third degree on an all-British scale that will make Scotland Yard look like a pleasure ground.

In one line with the Baldwins and Chamberlains the Hendersons will fight against the proletarian attack.

By the unity, solidarity and iron determination of the proletarian ranks, they will be swept aside.

The coming of the new series of wars and revolutions, opens up the door to the proletarian attack in England and digs the grave for the Henderson-MacDonald national Labourism, one of the pillars of the Second International.

THE BOURGEOISIE OF THE U.S.A. PUT THEIR STAKE ON WAR

P. Shubin.

I.

IN the middle of March, 1933, at the very height of the bank failures, the press of the U.S.A. renewed the campaign for "building a strong navy," the tracks of which led clearly to the White House. The democratic members of Congress (such as chairman of the Naval Commission, Winson) began to "hint" that "President Roosevelt will not object to a big naval programme." The liberal press which had blessed Roosevelt as an unswerving pacifist, and a disciple of the strictest economy in the state budget, advised him to refute these false rumours, but he continued, in his own expression, to maintain the "poker face." Simultaneously the economic trade papers began to publish figures showing the growth of American orders and exports in connection with the Japanese attack on China, and the preparations for a new war. The "Business Week" stated that, although the Japanese continued to obtain arms, machine guns, shells, armoured cars, etc., in Europe, "during the last few months they have been accumulating the raw material necessary to manufacture military supplies in Japan," especially mentioning Japan's purchases of cotton and scrap iron in the U.S.A. for this purpose. About the same time, the Department of Commerce published figures showing that, though there had been a general slight reduction of American exports to the Far East in 1932, the exports to Japan had increased, cotton by 28 per cent., refined oil by 200 per cent., crude oil by 33 per cent., lead by 16 per cent., and the export of iron and steel had reached a very high level. The journal of the steel trusts, "Steel," wrote :

"The international situation, especially in Japan and China, merits attention from steel producers. American exports of iron and steel for January jumped to 56,000 tons, the highest figure since last May, and out of this quantity, Japan took 24,500 tons, of which 22,500 tons was scrap iron."

The London correspondent of the "Evening Post" stated that Japan had bought over 600,000 tons of old ships in Great Britain for scrap iron for shells. ("Nation," March 22, 1933.)

In most cases, these figures were given without

comment and the reader was left to think over the question of what influence the outbreak of imperialist war would have on the economy of the U.S.A. Sometimes, however, the press could not refrain from putting the finishing touches. for example, the "Annalist," that "objective" register of the variations of various indexes, openly allowed itself to dream of how good it would be, if a war would only come to the aid of the American bourgeoisie.

"That there is a large possibility of a European war in the very near future can hardly be denied recognition . . . If such a war should break out it would be a matter of much interest to see whether Italy (certainly debarred from obtaining war material in France) would stimulate American business by turning for supplies to this country. We were lifted from a business depression in 1914 by the outbreak of the great war. It would be a curious repetition of function if another European war should again come to our industrial rescue." ("Annalist," p. 394, March 17, 1933.)

These reminiscences in the doleful days of summer, 1933, concerning the "marvellous delivery" from the crisis in summer, 1914, are, of course, no chance. They give the bourgeoisie the "outlook" of war as something that might save the situation—not war somewhere away in the backwoods, in the northern provinces of China or a local armed conflict in South America, but war in Europe; a world war. It "helped us in 1914 to get out of the depression," and even to reach the heights of financial and technical superiority over the rest of the world. It could save the situation even now.

But you cannot just sit by the sea and wait for a saviour war. Wars do not wait. They have to be prepared, to be made. If there is salvation in war, that means that the preparations for war must become the programme of the way out of the crisis. And this is exactly what has happened. Staking on war preparations, on war itself, as the only possibility of receiving a really wide market, with a steadily rising solvent demand, such are the distinguishing features of the "industrial recovery" legislation of Roosevelt. The mobilisation of industry for the satisfaction of the military market, and the creation of the rear, i.e., military convict conditions for the toilers, such is the strategic aim which the U.S.A. government sets itself at the present time.

II.

It is not a new idea to utilise a "big navy programme" for setting the economic machine in motion, and Roosevelt cannot claim any patent rights on it. However, up to the present, while America could strip everybody, relying on the relationship of economic and financial forces which was created by the war of 1914-18, there was no special need to force ahead and hurry the new war, which was bound to cancel the old war debts and all international indebtedness in general, and for this reason alone, was bound to be expensive for such a world creditor as the U.S.A. Of course, even earlier, the American bourgeoisie went to war for the division of markets, for taking the best colonies from its rivals, for the colonial enslavement of the semi-dependent countries and those which were still politically independent. But the crisis, especially its last stages, greatly accelerated and intensified this process. In 1917 Lenin wrote: "Just the same, war is a 'branch of industry' similar to forestry. It takes decades before the trees grow big enough . . . i.e., a sufficiently big and adult crop of cannon fodder." The "artificial afforestation," which, as we know, Roosevelt boosted as a panacea during the election campaign, is symbolical of his entire present practice of preparing cannon fodder. "The struggle against unemployment," "public works," "the peaceful army of labour," are all well-sounding pretexts behind which the U.S.A. carries on its feverish and extensive preparations for war in the post-war period with unparalleled energy.

And the "back-number" Hoover, dreamed in his time of fulfilling the entire London programme of naval construction in two or three years, but to carry out his dream he would have had to ask Congress for 250,000,000 dollars and thus "disturb public opinion." Roosevelt has none of these difficulties. Not to speak of the fact that bourgeois public opinion in the U.S.A. in recent months of open economic war has been sufficiently prepared for the inevitability of a military conflict, Roosevelt, from the purely formal side, needs no additional appropriations to strengthen the navy, for its re-equipment, for increasing the air force, for building new naval bases, for the motorising and mechanising of the army, etc. All this can be done "at the cost of the unemployed," from the 3,300 million dollars which were issued for public works. All this is exactly provided for in the Industrial Recovery Act.

But not only in the matter of the budget and technical ease does the Industrial Recovery Act open new and uncontrolled sources for a precipitous growth of the armaments of the U.S.A. afloat, ashore and in the air. This act as a whole, and all the economic and financial measures of American imperialism at the present time, are based on the assurance that the preparations for war, and war itself are already beginning to create a market for American industry and agriculture. The preparations for war and the war

itself, not in the sense of some distant, more or less vague historical perspective, but as a definite fact of the near future.

III.

Under the blows of the wide-spreading crisis, and in view of the complete bankruptcy of all the previous projects for "mitigating" and "liquidating" the crisis, American imperialism has been forced, by the rapid decline of world capitalist economy during the past year, and the specific forms of this decline at the present stage, to grasp at the risky experiment of Roosevelt for enlivening economic life by a system of measures directed towards the artificial and rapid screwing up of commodity prices (in paper dollars) on the home market and the conducting of a war of extermination with its enemies, above all, with Britain on the foreign market. This Roosevelt experiment—the mobilisation of the productive forces of industry with the inevitable contraction of the home market—while it is impossible to secure by economic and financial force alone such an extension of the foreign market, and at such a speed, as would promise a way out of the crisis, would be completely impossible, even from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, if they did not regard it with a higher reason. They regard it as a factor which simultaneously accelerates the loosening of a world war and the preparations of the U.S.A. for this war, and consequently the formation of an insatiable military market. It is sufficient to remember the known facts about the present "boom" in the U.S.A., and especially the speculative means by which it was created, to be assured of this.

At the end of the second quarter of 1933, the "boom" in the U.S.A., which had already lasted three months, reached a level whose height can be judged from the following indications: The price of wheat reached a dollar; (b) the steel industry worked up to 50 per cent. capacity, exceeding the lowest point of the beginning of the year four times; (c) the consumption of cotton exceeded the level of 1929 ad was twice as high as last year; the consumption of electricity at the end of June was 10 per cent. higher than last year.

When estimating these figures, prepared by bourgeois organisations, we should of course make considerable allowances for "advertisement." It would be incredible, if the American bourgeoisie, who are at present utilising every means in their power to create the appearance of a rise in the economic situation, failed to use such a tried and cheap method as the forging of figures and the faking of facts to the maximum degree. But, even making suitable rebates for falsification on the statistics, we must, nevertheless, recognise that there is an advance on all the indices given above.

To these favourable indices we should add (or deduct, according to the point of view) the fall of the dollar, whose drop is rapidly overtaking the English pound.

It is known that, in spite of such "objective" signs of prosperity, the bourgeois economic press is showing greater and greater alarm as the moment approaches for the Industrial Recovery Act to operate. How can this be explained? Firstly, the growth of prices, even on raw materials (expressed in paper dollars or even in gold) is not the result of a diminution of the reserves of these products, but is sometimes accompanied even by an increase. Even wheat, whose advance in price is attributed to the services of a field pest, in reality owes its success to the fact that the government promised a dollar a bushel for the new harvest. Whatever the harvest may be like this year, the U.S.A. has a reserve of 30 million bushels from previous harvests, and there cannot be any question of a considerable export of wheat to Europe. It is noteworthy that Canada joined completely in the speculative rise on the Chicago pool, although the surpluses of wheat doubled this year, and a considerable part of the harvest is intended for export. Thus, there can be no doubt of the speculative nature of the price of wheat.

Secondly, in the branches of industry—steel and textiles—where the boom is greatest, it is obvious that they are working, not for the present market, but *for storage*.

"Within the electric industry itself there is a disposition to interpret these heavy increases as indicating excessive production for inventory, with the expressed fear that the attempts of the cotton textile industry to forestall the restrictions of the processing tax and the wages and hours limitations of the industrial code about to be adopted will lead to such an excess of stocks as to result in a later slump in production and employment in the industry" ("Annalist," June 23rd, 1933).

As for the boom of the steel industry, it is in contradiction with the stagnation in the production of the means of production, the absence of orders from the railroads, and the approaching depression (though in a slighter form) in the building industry. Even the "Wall Street Journal" expresses a "guess" that the "quantity of steel which is delivered by contract in the second quarter exceeds present needs." Why are they working for storage then?

Firstly, because the introduction of the "Recovery Act" will undoubtedly be accompanied by an artificial rise of prices (not less than 30 per cent. for some classes of goods); secondly, because the operation of the tax on the manufacture of agricultural products (also about 30 per cent.),

will automatically act in the same direction; and thirdly, because the further devaluation of the dollar, which will force prices up in paper dollars, is fully assured by the demonstrative policy of the government at the international economic conference. In view of all these circumstances together, together with cheap credit, the manufacturers and wholesalers are accumulating reserves.

It is the flight from the dollar which thus causes the rise of prices on commodities. It is not an increase in the belief in the purchasing powers of the market, but the expectation of an artificial rise of prices, which is causing the commodity boom. The government is doing everything in its power so that, on the one hand, there will be increased certitude in the fall of the dollar, i.e., in reality, lack of confidence in the government (however paradoxical this may seem at first sight), and on the other hand, to increase the trend towards commodities. But how is the latter achieved? By an increase in the consumption of these commodities? No, because retail trade remains weak, according to the general report of all. It follows that the production and buying of goods for reserve is caused entirely by the expectation, hope or fear that they will rise in price in the next few weeks. But even this expectation, in turn, is not connected with the prospects of an extension of the market, but on the contrary, with the policy of reducing production, proclaimed in the Industrial Recovery Act.

All these measures together are giving and may continue to give, a really serious stimulus to the market. Their only shortcoming is that they, like every other stimulant, require a progressive increase in the dose to produce the previous effect. Both in case the stimulus stops, if the bourgeoisie are able to stop it at all, and in case it exceeds a certain level, the reaction will come into effect with devastating force. From the moment when it becomes plain that Roosevelt's promises are, in reality, no different from the "prosperity just round the corner," which Hoover promised in his time; and do not provide for either a widening of the home market, or a more or less considerable seizure of foreign markets, the whole wave of the boom starts to sweep backwards. The result of this may be merely that increase of chaos, of which, according to the authors of the Industrial Recovery Act, it is terrible even to think.

IV.

Do the American bourgeoisie know that the "planned" legislation of Roosevelt, which is a repetition of the measures by which America was able to direct the entire economy of the country for the satisfaction of war demands in 1914-18, does not *of itself* promise a way out of the crisis? Of course, they know. It is true that the Industrial Recovery Act, together with the actual unlimited powers of the President in the matter of inflation, give the trusts a gigantic apparatus to break through the crisis over the bodies of the working class and the ruined farmers, over the ruins of the weaker capitalist enterprises. But the barons of the big trusts cannot put this apparatus in motion unless they get a *fulcrum* on which it can turn, i.e., increased markets. If the liberal jellybags who supply the idea of "planning" in the White House do not know of this, is it known to the kings of steel, cotton, oil and chemicals, etc., who order these ideas? Of course it is! But for this very reason the American bourgeoisie link up the success of the speculative boom with the extent to which the preparations for war and war itself comes to their help, creating a paying demand for industry, mobilised on the basis of super-trust high prices and inflation.

We saw above that, at the most tragic moment of the financial flood, when the waves of bank failures raged all around, the dove sent out by the "Annalist" returned with good news—war was approaching, a European war would again come to save us. At present, at the height of the "boom," the "pessimists" who fear that the Roosevelt experiment will lead to catastrophe, base their arguments on the same question of war and war markets. They say: "Planned economy" has a genuinely magic force, but only in war conditions, when industry is assured of a war market.

It is noteworthy that the arguments which these "pessimists"—chiefly the most terrified bankers—bring against "planned economy" are *based* on the fact that they foresee the collapse of these plans—and in this respect they are undoubtedly more longsighted than the optimists of the White House—even before mobilised industry can "find" a sufficiently powerful war market, and also on the fact that they themselves—this group of banking sceptics—do not expect to live through another crash and an exceptionally big one at that, and are waiting for "better times"—both as the result of the too extensive shattering of their own financial basis, and the inevitable bankruptcy in practice of the European creditors, which will be accelerated by the great aggressiveness of Roosevelt's foreign policy.

From this point of view, there is a certain interest in the motives by which the Chase National Bank objects to the Industrial Recovery Act and money and credit inflation. The bulletin of the bank says:

"We are told that we have experience (i.e., in planned economy) to base ourselves on, in carrying out this plan. During the war we really practised the regulation and control of industry to

a considerable extent, and it is thought by some that this experience can be utilised now. But I think that the experience of war times will be found, to a great extent, to be useless, from the point of view of our present problems."

Further, comparing the tasks which faced American "planners" at that time and now, during the growing crisis, the author comes to the following conclusion:

"At that time there was an unlimited demand and a limited supply. The task was to limit the demand and regulate the supply. The present task is entirely different. It is to bring back people to work to manufacture commodities which can be sold. No planning mind at the centre can know which commodities these are. But the market knows."

But the "knowing market" of the bourgeoisie can only be tricked for a short time by progressive inflation and artificially boosted prices. The American bourgeoisie understand (some of their economists do not cease to affirm it openly) that in deceiving the "market," they run the risk of greatly deceiving themselves, and of carrying the crisis to a catastrophic extent before they can be saved by some war, worthy of the name. Naturally, it is not impossible that, having stepped on the slope of inflation, the bourgeoisie will slip down the incline and lose the ability of regulating the speculation which they call control. However, the American barons do not expect such a result from their "revolution." Their calculations are connected with the creation of those circumstances in which "planned economy," even according to the pessimists, will save the situation—the circumstances of war.

V.

The statement of Roosevelt when signing the Industrial Recovery Act said: "We hope, on the basis of the part of the Act which speaks of public works, to begin immediately to carry out a programme of construction which will give work to additional *hundreds of thousands of people.*"

Thus the mountain was in labour and bore a mouse, for at the time of the preparation of this Act, the talk was not of hundreds of thousands, but of millions of unemployed, who would be released from poverty and want by public works. But on the other hand, Roosevelt emphasised the *immediacy* of the public works, and this promise has been carried out only in respect to one type of work—that which is directed towards *increasing armaments.* In the text of the law, this category comes at the very end of the chapter, where there is a special paragraph on the "construction, if the President deems it advisable, of new war vessels on the conditions and in the numbers established by the London agreement in 1930, a suitable number of airplanes, the carrying out of such plans for the construction of barracks as the President shall approve, the supply of equipment for the mechanisation and motorisation of the army which may be assigned for this purpose." But, in the words of the Bible, "the last shall be first," and this last paragraph of the Industrial Recovery Act, about which the press was so bashfully silent, was the first to be carried into practice.

The liberal press, which a few months ago expected that Roosevelt would disperse the compromising rumours that he sympathised with a "big navy programme," is now "trying objectively to understand the concession which the President made to the militarists. . . and in the interests of providing work for the unemployed." "It is easy to understand the political motives which impelled President Roosevelt to throw a sop to the militarists, but at the same time we cannot agree that this measure was necessary and wise." ("New Republic," June 28, 1933.)

"The naval minister, Swanson, affirms that 85 per cent. of the sum (appropriated for warships) will go direct to the workers. It would probably be difficult to prove this disputable contention." ("Nation," June 28, 1933.)

But as both these "pacifist" journals in their criticism try to impress the reader with the lie that the intention of Roosevelt and Swanson is really to help the unemployed by re-equiping the cruisers, they have no alternative but to benevolently rally the "naïveness" of the statesmen. The "Nation" suggests that Swanson should pay people for playing at leapfrog, and then the whole 100 per cent. would go to the workers, and the result would be far less harmful. But the "New Republic" states: "If these ships have to be built in any case, the only sensible method is to wait till they are finished to the last gun turret and loud speaker, and then send them out to sea and sink them." Simplicity of mind is just as necessary a part of the general system of preparation for war as the loudly trumpeted lies of Roosevelt.

But Roosevelt and Swanson have no intention of spending the sums appropriated for them in the Industrial Recovery Act without effect.

According to the Act, "current expenses on public works must correspond to the income reasonably expected from them." It was intended to issue government bonds to the sum of over three billions to finance this plan. The President assured the public that this money (to be issued in small denominations down to 20 dollars) would be expended "*efficiently.*" The President hastened to invest a big pile in the construction of a navy because he considered such expenditure to be the most efficient.

But this is only the beginning. Other "efficient" expenditures of the same type, provided for by law, are already being planned and carried out by the military departments.

The building of thirty-two fighting naval units is only part of the programme which was developed by the naval minister a few days after Roosevelt had signed the Industrial Recovery Act. According to this programme, the American navy has the immediate aim of "not being inferior to any navy in the world . . . and developing its fighting powers to the greatest possible extent, assuring control on the sea for the defence of the country and its interests, to prepare the navy for operations in *either* of the oceans." But to solve this task it was necessary not only to bring about the maximum strengthening of the navy, but also of the air fleet, and also to adapt the merchant fleet for war purposes, especially those swift giants which can easily be turned into airplane carriers and whose size is not limited by any treaty. Therefore, the naval minister was quite consistent when he said that "airplane construction will develop above all for naval operations. Besides this, there will be worked out a plan for rapidly obtaining trading ships and converting them for war purposes." Finally, from the point of view of "preparing the navy for operations on either of the oceans," the construction and enlargement of naval bases is of decisive importance. And in reality, according to the American press, the new programme provides for the formation of a new naval base at Bremerton, Wash., and two Atlantic bases in Virginia and Rhode Island.

But, however, will not the President meet with obstacles in using the three billions for carrying out this programme of war preparations? Not at all. The authors of the Act were sufficiently farsighted to stress in a special point that the plan for public works applies to the Hawaiian Islands, where the only thing to be considered is the strengthening of the naval base.

VI.

But in staking on war preparations, American imperialism calculates on enlarging, not only the home, but the foreign market. This foreign market is what the "Annalist" had chiefly in view when it said that the future war might again save the U.S.A. from depression. In this respect—viz., the development of a paying demand for war material—the U.S.A. is very far from any "economic nationalism." The programme of "putting our own house in order," which Roosevelt sets himself, is in this sense profoundly "international," as this "order" is necessary to American imperialism to serve the military customers, both its own and strangers.

Not very long ago, the American "observers" and experts advised Europe to economise, and secure budgets without deficits. In this matter, the decisive thing was the consideration that the less the European governments spend on armaments, the more will the U.S.A. get, as the creditor of Europe. The possibility of getting payments on the loans which arose out of war and post-war plunder formed the basis of the American "pacifist" doctrine: "Reduce your expenses on armaments and you will then be able to pay us"—such was the basis of the foreign policy of Hoover. At the beginning of 1933, when it became plain that the world crisis had reached such a degree that all hopes of receiving payments on war debts had to be abandoned, this Hooverite wisdom was relegated to the archives. Voices began to be heard to the effect that the military expenses in the budgets of the debtor countries must not be regarded as something harmful to the creditors, that in general expenditures on armaments should not be considered as unproductive. It is noteworthy that this "international point of view" was first formulated publicly in an official document of the New York Chamber of Commerce, where the interests of the suppliers of war materials are specially strongly represented. At the January session of this New York Chamber of Commerce, when discussing the question of regulating war debts, a resolution was adopted after a long discussion which said:

"Expenditures which the foreign governments carry on in their own countries for armaments, or for other purposes, do not necessarily affect their ability to pay their debts to America. *Military expenses do not differ from relief payments to the unemployed* or from other expenses carried on inside the country for more or less unproductive purposes. *There is no doubt that in the U.S.A. too great significance is attached to armaments as a factor hindering the payment of war debts.*"

At present, when the deficits in the European budgets can interest President Roosevelt to such an extent that they give him a moral justification for setting in motion economic war, all considerations against military expenses naturally fall to the ground. The U.S.A. will willingly exchange a good customer for arms for a bankrupt debtor. In connection with the armament race, the big military programme of Washington creates a market for American industry, not only inside the country, but abroad. It was no chance that Roosevelt found it advisable to state through the Associated Press to all countries that "in future,

up to autumn, he abandons his plans for unofficial discussions on the limitation of armaments, as he is confident that *there is no chance of reconciling existing differences.*" But the abandonment of discussions on the reduction of armaments means an invitation to increase armaments. This was one of the methods, and one of the most effective methods, for giving a stimulus to the present boom in the U.S.A.

Staking on war preparations and on war—this is what is concealed behind the plans for the mobilisation of industry, with the aid of which the American bourgeoisie are making desperate efforts to climb out of the crisis.

THE CHIEF OBSTACLES TO THE WORK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

By G. Smolyansky.

NEARLY a year has passed since the XII. Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The development of the class struggle during this period has fully confirmed the analysis of the XII. Plenum concerning the end of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, and the entry of the capitalist world into a new period of revolutions and wars. Despite all the prophecies of the opportunists who repeated, after the bourgeoisie and its Social-Democratic lieutenants, the legend of the beginning of the end of the world economic crisis, who did not see that behind the three trees of the arithmetical growth of certain branches of industry in some capitalist countries (thanks to inflation and the war situation) the monstrous growth and interlocking of all imperialist contradictions, the world economic crisis during this year has reached a point of intensity at which these contradictions, according to the testimony of the bourgeoisie itself, must be solved politically, that is, by means of an imperialist war. Despite all the counter-revolutionary theories of the Trotskyites, Right renegades and the capitulationist assertions of the opportunist element who, following Social-Democracy, repeat the disgraceful defeatist myth of the "crushing of the German proletariat," the opening of "a new era of fascism," the "triumph of Bonapartism and reaction," the tensity of the class relations in all capitalist countries has reached an exceptional sharpness and the capitalist world, with fascist Germany in the vanguard, is pregnant with the proletarian revolution. The curve of the proletarian revolution is moving, not downward (as the opportunists and capitulationists maintain to justify their own desertion), but steadily upward, though there are certain zig-zags, caused by the temporary victory of the the bloody fascist dictatorship in Germany, and a series of separate reverses on certain sections of the revolutionary proletarian front. "The Party of Revolution, rallies the Party of counter-revolution" (Marx). The struggle proceeds. It flares up. And he who finds no place on *this* side of the barricade, must inevitably find himself on the other, in the filthy historical abyss of capitalism and social-fascism. Hence the imperative necessity of the Communist vanguard giving the masses a clear revolutionary perspective, of resolutely taking up the work of accelerating the solution of the fundamental strategical task raised by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., on the approaches to the decisive revolutionary battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat; of winning the majority of the working class by *resolutely leading* all forms of its economic and political struggles and steadily *raising the level* of this struggle in accord with the decree of the concrete revolutionary ripening of the objective situation, on the basis of a resolute organisation of the *united front from below* and demonstrating to the great masses of the toilers the *revolutionary face* of the Communist vanguard, on the basis of the *destruction of the mass* base of Social-Democracy in the Bolshevist spirit.

Czecho-Slovakia is no exception to the general growth of the crisis, capitalist contradictions and the class struggle of the proletariat. On the contrary, the temporary victory of the fascist dictatorship in Germany which directly put the question of an imperialist re-division of Central and Eastern Europe on the order of the day, threatens to convert all of Central Europe, including Czecho-Slovakia, into the largest hotbed of clashes between the imperialists. This foreign political development is an additional factor, aggravating the crisis in Czecho-Slovakia—and accelerating the "fascisation" of the State machinery—and the capitalist offensive upon the living standards and political rights of the masses of the city and village. The number of unemployed in April, 1933, even according to the official data, constitutes the monstrous figure of 780,000, or 2 per cent. more than a year ago. In all the biggest industries of Czecho-Slovakia, in mining, engineering, chemical, textile industries, even the transient artificial improvement created by some of the biggest capitalist plunderers on the basis of inflation and war preparations, is entirely absent. Hence, the furious pressure upon the toiling masses, particularly upon the Czecho-Slovakian proletariat. This offensive is marked by wholesale dismissals and wage-cuts,

particularly among the miners, farm workers and office employees. The Government has already prepared and insured the enactment of a law providing for the reduction of the unemployed benefits, under which one-third of the unemployed will be deprived of all benefits. At the same time the workers' Press and organisations are being constantly persecuted and oppressed. The national oppression on the part of Czech imperialism is also growing. Between January 1st and May 15th, 1933, there were 125 political trials. The last emergency decree grants the Government unlimited powers in the "regulation" of wages, social insurance, taxation and the activity of the workers' Press and workers' organisations.

The distinctive feature of this "fascisation" consists in that, in contrast to Germany, in Czecho-Slovakia this process is developing not merely with the aid of Social-Democracy, but is DIRECTLY CARRIED out by them, as their representatives are sitting in the Coalition Government. The aggressive imperialist tendencies of German fascism provoke a counter-aggression on the part of the Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie, this forepost of French imperialism in Central Europe, under the flag of the protection of the "Czecho-Slovakian island of democracy in the fascist revisionist encirclement." In reply to the ferocious terror of the fascist dictatorship against the toiling masses of Germany, which constitutes an essential element in the preparation of imperialist war adventures by the Fascist Government, Czech imperialism and the Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie are increasing the social and national oppression as a most important element in their preparations for imperialist war. Social-Democracy is introducing a fascist bourgeois system in Czecho-Slovakia to find a capitalist way out of the crisis under the flag of "protection of peace" (that is of the Versailles Peace), and "protection of democracy," that is—the open and direct "fascisation" by a broad "democratic front from Masaryk to the last Czecho-Slovakian Social-Democrat. Social-Democracy, in introducing fascism, manœuvres, seeking to include the proletarian masses in the "national front" against German fascism, to obscure the fascisation of their own bourgeois state from them. This slogan is now characteristic of all the Social-Democratic Parties of the anti-revisionist countries and those fed by them (such as the Russian Mensheviks, for instance) which are utilising the latest base betrayal of German Social-Democracy to openly join the fascist dictatorship, and strengthen the "national front" of their own bourgeoisie.

> "It is untrue," writes the White Emigrant Shifrin in the Menshevist "Socialist Herald" (which is now being kept by the French Socialists instead of the German Social-Fascists), "that the British, French, Swedish, Czech and other workers cannot wage a struggle against German fascism, a struggle occupying the forefront of their foreign and domestic policies. The slogan 'The Enemy is Always to be Found in Your Own Home' is not true in relation to all enemies. In politics, the enemy in the neighbour's house may be sometimes more dangerous. Hitler may, under certain conditions, endanger the freedom of the British workers more than Austen Chamberlain and even Churchill."

This is why the question of a clear revolutionary perspective for Czecho-Slovakia is of decisive importance to the work of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, especially for the capture of the majority of the Czecho-Slovakian proletariat. The working class of Czecho-Slovakia does not calmly receive those fascist decrees and measures with which it is being blessed by the "only democratic Government" of Central Europe but offers ever-growing resistance to them. This is shown by the growth of the strike movement which found its expression in the doubling of the number of strikes in April of this year, compared with a month before, in a number of short protest strikes in the metal industry of Central Bohemia, in the one-day general strike of the printers held June 24th, and finally in the numerous "hunger" strikes of recent months in Czecho-Slovakia. This is testified by the mass demonstrations of the unemployed: During one-and-a-half months of this spring, there were 101 demonstrations with 76,000 participants. This is also testified by the tremendous fermentation and discontent existing among the national minorities, the unquestionable growth of the political influence and organisation of the Communist Party and revolutionary trade unions, and finally, by the forced demagogic manœuvres of the Social-Democracy.

At the same time, however, it would be boastful and frivolous to regard these achievements of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia and of the revolutionary trade unions as sufficient. Already the December Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia—the I. Plenum of the C.C. after the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.—frankly noted in the person of Comrade Gottwold *the serious backwardness* of the Communist Party, both as compared with the intensity of the class contradictions, and the political level of the class struggle. Even then the C.P. and the Red trade unions of Czecho-Slovakia received a most serious warning in the fact that the C.P. had, firstly, failed to mobilise the great masses of the toilers and create an active mass movement in the defence of the Party and the revolutionary trade union organisations, and secondly, had failed to raise a barrier to the further development of fascist mass organisations in the national regions, particularly the Hakenkreuzlers

(Fascists)* in the German-speaking parts of Czech-Bohemia. The C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia adopted a correct policy of focussing its attention upon the slogan of the defence of the Communist Party, inculcating the great toiling masses of Czecho-Slovakia with the realisation that it was a case of the fate of the only class party of the proletariat and sole protector of the toiling masses against all forms of exploitation, that it was a case of organising resistance to the capitalist offensive to-day, to prevent the bourgeoisie from freely preparing for the attack to-morrow.

Nearly six months has since elapsed. It must be openly admitted that the discrepancy between the objective development of the crisis in Czecho-Slovakia, the sharpening of the class contradictions and all internal and external contradictions of Czech imperialism on the one hand, and the growth of the mass resistance to the fascisation of Czecho-Slovakia as well as the growth of the Communist Party itself (all of its unquestionable achievements notwithstanding) on the other, not only has not decreased—but has, on the contrary, increased. And it must also be frankly stated that the blame for this rests not only, or not so much, upon the growing objective difficulties of the revolutionary struggle as upon the subjective factor, upon the practical operation of the line of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and . . . in a number of the most important links of the Communist Party itself, and particularly of the revolutionary trade unions.

Let us take the most important facts. Only very recently has the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia succeeded in organising mass proletarian demonstrations against the emergency decrees in a number of industrial centres. The strike movement, while growing in numbers, is becoming more and more scattered, and not only has not developed into a mass political strike struggle as was the case last year at Brux and Freiwald, but has even *sunk lower*, degenerating in a number of cases into passive "hunger-strikes." The fascist mass organisations are ominously growing, even in the workers' districts. The mass base of Social-Democracy, despite a number of successful united front actions organised in response to our call, has not been essentially effected. This has been shown by the factory committee elections, which, among the metal workers, the leading detachment of the proletariat, resulted in a serious setback for us. Moreover, Social-Democracy has succeeded in deceiving a complete detachment of the Czecho-Slovakian proletariat, the printers, by declaring a "demonstrative" one-day general strike of printers instead of conducting a real struggle against the wage-cuts, and caught the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions practically unawares. Finally, the tempo of the organisational growth of the Communist Party and revolutionary trade unions has been steadily declining. While the membership of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia between December, 1932, and March, 1933, increased by 9,351, in April the increase was limited to 926. The growth of the membership of the metal workers' union affiliated to the Red trade unions has virtually come to an end, while the miners' union has been growing very slowly.

Thus the successes achieved by the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia (and that there are such successes, important successes, is beyond doubt), do not in any way correspond either to the objective situation, or possibilities. Already at the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., Comrade Schwerma, the responsible leader of the Red trade unions, declared that the strike of the Brux miners, which was undoubtedly of international significance (as emphasised by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.):

> " . . . marks primarily a *weakening of reformism* in the Brux district *and on a national scale* . . . The great miners' strike has *awakened new forces among the masses of the proletariat* . . . The miners' strike has become a starting point for big battles throughout the country. . . ."

A year after the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia is forced to note that these new forces, which have been awakened among the masses of the proletariat, have not been properly directed along the channel of truly mass actions. The failure is particularly pronounced in the matter of arousing the ire of the toiling masses of Czecho-Slovakia against the ever-accelerating "fascisation" of the Czecho-Slovakian State.

While half a year ago, the Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie was sort of slowly feeling the strength of the Communist Party, the *extent* to which the Party was really able to *mobilise* the masses and offer active resistance to "fascisation," since that time this process of "fascisation" (particularly the offensive against the Communist Party) has accelerated and will continue to be, especially if the bourgeoisie, spurred on, in addition by the aggressiveness of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, do not meet sufficient resistance, or will consider the working class of Czecho-Slovakia to be too weak and divided for such resistance. From this, the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia must draw a number of most serious conclusions.

Conclusion 1.

The working class of Czecho-Slovakia must have a clear revolutionary perspective, and conception of the distribution of the class forces in the country. It is sufficient to recall the directive which Lenin gave to the Bolshevist fraction of the fourth State Duma

* Hakenkreuz = swastika

regarding the character of the first speeches of the Social-Democratic deputies. This was at the end of 1912, during the new revolutionary revival, following upon the failure of the 1905 revolution. Lenin then wrote :

> "The second thesis, necessary for the first speech of a labour deputy is *socialism*. Here there are, in fact, two themes. One is that the Russian Social-Democracy is one of the sections of the international army of the socialist proletariat. . . . But there is also another point of extreme importance in our days. This is the *modern* situation and the tasks of socialism *throughout* the world. What characterises this situation : (*a*) An extreme sharpening of the struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie (the high cost of living, mass strikes, the imperialism of the Powers, their frantic competition over markets, their nearness to war) and (*b*) *the nearness of the realisation of socialism*. The working class of the whole world fights, not for the recognition of its rights to a Socialist Party, but for power, for a new organisation of society. It is very important to say this from the Duma platform, to tell the workers of Russia of the *beginning of great battles* for socialism in Europe and America, of the *approaching* triumph (inevitable triumph) of socialism in the civilised world."

This vital revolutionary directive of Lenin appears to have been written for the Czecho-Slovakian situation to-day. The question is not one of *adaptation* to the level of the backward sections of the proletariat, particularly of the Social-Democratic workers, of *hiding the revolutionary face* of the Communist vanguard in the hope of thus penetrating the Social-Democratic masses, but of not becoming dissolved among these masses, of inculcating these backward proletarian sections with the *thought of the nearness of socialism* and, by the concrete application of this perspective to the leadership of the daily struggles, actually speed up the winning of the majority of the proletariat by the Communist vanguard. The question is not one of concentrating the attention of the Czecho-Slovakian proletariat upon the absence, for the moment, of an open fascist dictatorship in Czecho-Slovakia (which is true in itself, and which should be discussed), but of making it clear to every Czecho-Slovakian worker, to every Social-Democratic worker that in Czecho-Slovakia a speedy process of "fascisation" is already developing and that this "fascisation" must be combated. It is not a question of whether the existing Coalition Government of Malipeter *represents the Bruening stage in Czecho-Slovakia*, nor whether the Malipeter Government is a "transitional" Government, but that it is precisely a Government of "fascisation" in Czecho-Slovakia. It is necessary to show the masses *where this "fascisation" leads*, it is necessary to show that the Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie is driving the Communist Party underground. It is necessary *for the Party itself to be* properly prepared for this, and not to allow itself to be caught unawares. It is necessary to expose and uproot the constitutional illusions which are still very strong among the masses of the Czecho-Slovakian proletariat and even within the Communist Party itself. *Constitutional illusions*, said Lenin,

> "Arouse the political mistake consisting in that people mistake the existing system as normal, lawful, orderly, legal, in short, 'constitutional,' although in reality it does not exist." (Vol. XVI, Part 2, p. 119.)

Finally, it is not a question of proclaiming, as Comrade Schwerma did at the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., that "economic battles and mass strikes serve as the principal weapon in the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat, in the struggle against fascism," but of utilising every strike of the proletariat, as Comrade Schwerma correctly proposed, for further progress, for raising the revolutionary level of the class struggle, for making the toiling masses understand that a strike is not, in itself, the highest form of revolutionary struggle. It is necessary to inculcate the minds of the toiling masses with the realisation that in the periods of revolutionary crises even

> "a general political strike must be regarded at the given moment of the movement not so much as an independent means of struggle, but as subsidiary to the uprising, that therefore the choice of the moment for such a strike, the choice of the place and of the branches of labour which it is to affect should be subordinated to the time and conditions of the *principal form of the struggle*, the uprising." (Draft resolution of the Bolsheviks at the Stockholm Conference.)

This is of special importance to an understanding of the German events as well, where the capitulationist panicky elements, who have lost faith in the development of the internal forces of the proletarian revolution in Germany, are indicting the Communist Party, because it did not issue a call for an uprising, prior to Hitler's advent to power (when the prerequisites for it, in the objective influence of the Communist Party, and relationship of forces with Social-Democracy, did not exist), which, in fact, maliciously ignores the thrice repeated call of the Communist Party of Germany for a general strike that did not materialise solely because Social-Democracy was still influential among the masses. Naturally, there is not a situation of uprising in Czecho-Slovakia. But the C.P. is nevertheless

obliged to place a revolutionary perspective before the Czech workers.

Conclusion 2.

The Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia must raise the question of the united front, of its attitude to Social-Democracy and the methods of struggle for the *Social-Democratic* workers with exceptional clarity and Bolshevist consistency. At the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I., Comrade Gotwald formulated these tasks with true Bolshevist clarity :

" . . . He who approaches the masses without regard to their sentiments will work in vain. Does this mean that we must adapt ourselves to the sentiments of the backward working masses and share their illusions ? Not at all. . . . We must always know the sentiments of the masses not in order to adapt ourselves to them, but in order to overcome by corresponding methods and means these sentiments inasmuch as they are an expression of the influence of the class enemy.

"Do we hide from the masses our revolutionary Communist views, principles and policies ? Do we hesitate to appear before the masses as Communists ? Not at all. . . . We seek to convince the masses by word and deed concerning the armed uprising. . . . We naturally reject every attempt to supplant the united front from below by the policy of an alliance with Social-Democracy. Such an approach in general, cannot serve as an object of our discussion. We are only discussing the question of how to realise, how to carry into effect the leading rôle of the Party in the policy of the united front from below. . . ."

The most difficult task of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia consists precisely in that it has had to carry into effect this Bolshevist line against *great odds*, inasmuch as many of the organisations of the Communist Party and especially the Red trade unions have established the practice of the united front and an approach to the Social Democratic workers which frequently differs substantially from the policy outlined by Comrade Gotwald. Indeed, the question may be raised, why was it that, after the magnificent demonstration of unity carried out by the Prague metal workers on October 20th, 1932, under the leadership of the Communists and despite the reformist trade union bureaucracy, the Red trade unions have sustained the biggest losses precisely in the Prague metal plants, where they lost nearly one-third of their votes ? Why, after the splendid mass unity actions during the miners' strike at Brux and Rossiz, under the unquestionable leadership of the Communists, was there such a small increase in votes during the factory committee elections, while fascism grew so inexcusably fast ? It is not, of course, due to any objective difficulties (as the May issue of the "Prague Bolshevik" maintains) in the metal plants with old and powerful Social-Democratic organisations. It is due primarily to the failure of the Communists to *provide leadership* in these plants in the organisation or resistance to the capitalist offensive, the mass dismissals, the wage-cuts, on the basis of a truly militant united front from below. "We are only a few. There are many reformist workers, what can we do ? " such is the stereotyped argument of the Communists in these plants which, in reality, marks distrust of the revolutionary movement, the class militancy of the workers and the radicalisation of the Social-Democratic workers. It is due to an under-estimation of the *leading rôle of the Communist Party*, the hiding of one's face before the Social-Democratic workers, the excessive orientation of the workers upon a *spontaneous* labour demonstration instead of ourselves, as the revolutionary leaders, formulating the slogans of the masses. It is due to the failure to lay sufficient emphasis upon the treacherous rôle of the Social-Democrats before the Social-Democratic masses as the Party itself has repeatedly stated, and as Comrade Gotwald admitted at the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in relation to the Ostrava organisation of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia. Is it not true that the united front appeal of the last conference of the Red trade unions —this important trade union document, obscured the splitting and treacherous rôle of the reformist trade union bureaucracy when the conference, in calling for the restoration of the unity of the working class, declared :

"Let us break through the boundary lines by which the bosses divide us in order to exploit and enslave us more cruelly,"

without mentioning the reformist trade union bureaucracy and thus failing to *charge it with responsibility* for the *split* of the working class ?

Did not some trade unionists propose to create an "intermediary group" within the reformist trade unions—between the Red trade union organisation and the reformist trade union masses—adapting themselves "to the backward" level of the reformist workers ? Does not the "Communist Review" (No. 3) in the article on "German Fascism and the German United Front" say that

"where he (the Social-Democrat Chechaczek) lacks arguments he helps himself by accusing the Communists of desiring to utilise the united front against Social-Democracy. But the facts themselves speak against this. . . ."

Of course, the united front of the Communists is not a manœuvre. It is a *most important weapon for the mobilisation of the great working masses from below for the class struggle.* It was this that the Communist International had in mind when it considered it

possible for the Central Committees of the Communist Parties to address themselves to the Central Committees of the Social-Democratic Parties with concrete proposals of concrete class actions. But Social-Democracy would not be Social-Democracy had it not rejected this truly class united front; as the class struggle spells death to Social-Democracy. The realisation of the united front of the masses in concrete class actions, has always and invariably served to *expose Social-Democracy*.

A whole series of recent actions has shown that the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, through the most serious Bolshevist criticism of defects and mistakes of a number of organisations and sections, is more and more firmly and resolutely pursuing the line of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on this vital question of the struggle of the Communists for the majority of the working class in Czecho-Slovakia and for an independent leadership of the class struggles. The Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia must make every effort to *speed up* to the utmost the overcoming of defects and mistakes in the practical enforcement of the united front policy, which were important obstacles on the road to the development of mass proletarian movements in Czecho-Slovakia, under the independent leadership of the Communist Party and Red trade unions.

Conclusion 3.

It would have been strange for the delay in the mass actions against "fascisation," as well as in the development of the mass proletarian movements generally, not to have lead, in a number of branches of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia and Red trade unions—frequently and not accidentally in those same branches to which we referred above —to hasty acts of passiveness or artificial elevation of accidental and frequently backward forms of the class struggle to a new, higher stage of the struggle of the proletariat, while in reality isolating themselves from the masses and refraining from giving them independent leadership. This is just what happened with the so-called "hunger-strikes." A wave of hunger-strikes swept over a large number of pits in Czecho-Slovakia. They began largely as a protest against the dismissal of individual workers. The workers descended the pits and refused to accept food, declaring that they would not leave the mines until the discharge order shall have been withdrawn by the administration. For the first time such a hunger-strike took place in the *Bill* mine in the Brux district against the dismissal of three miners, and resulted in victory. A section of the Communist Press, particularly the Press of the Red trade unions advertised this strike as a "new" "most acute," unprecedented method of struggle which, according to Comrade Tomaschko's article in the April issue of the "Bolshevik" "Shows to the Workers of Czecho-Slovakia" how it is possible to conduct a successful struggle even against individual dismissals." The events in the Bill mine were placed on a footing of equality with last year's strike in the Humboldt mine, which gave rise to the magnificent mass movement in the Brux district. "A fight by hunger against hunger," such was the slogan issued by many Communists and particularly by leaders of the trade unions. In a special article published in "Rude-Pravo" of April 30th, 1933, Comrade Schwerma plainly says about this strike that

> "While the reformist leaders declare that during a period of economic crisis, it is generally impossible to carry on a struggle, while they seek to convince the working class of its helplessness, the heroic hunger-strikes of the miners are demonstrating a new, higher form of economic struggle. Therein lies their great significance."

These statements were supported in "Rude-Pravo" by Comrade Gutman in his review of Comrade Tomashko's article in the Bolshevik. Comrade Gutman referred to the experience of the Polish Communist Party which, he said, was the first Party to have given a "masterly" formulation of and suggested this new, higher form of struggle.

It is hardly necessary to say that the Polish Communist Party did not advance this slogan. The resolution of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party resolutely opposes the "hunger-strikes" as backward, primitive and passive forms of the movement which, in addition, isolate the strikers from the mass of the workers, and impede the extension of the movement. It was precisely the Communist Party of Poland which correctly called upon the Communists to overcome this backward form of struggle, by urging the workers to come out into the streets and engage in an active strike movement against the capitalist offensive. It is characteristic that, in Czecho-Slovakia, the newly-engendered enthusiasm soon passed away when the subsequent "hunger-strikes" began to fail. The glorification of the backward, passive "hunger-strike" as a "higher form of class struggle" was due, in the case of some comrades, to a perfectly understandable "hunger" for politically or economically successful mass strikes. This is their only justification. The task of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia which is *already curing individual comrades of their infatuation* consists in utilising the real growth of militancy among the masses and the development of class contradictions in Czecho-Slovakia and, upon throwing off the burden of a series of distortions of the line of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in its practical application, leading the Communists at full speed towards the capture of the majority of the working class, and the creation of a firm foundation for victorious revolutionary battles against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in Czecho-Slovakia.

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